

A DROR RESOURCE BOOK



A PUBLICATION OF HABONIM DROR NORTH AMERICA



TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTORY LETTER	1
VEIDA RESOLUTION CONCERNING DROR HISTORY	2
DROR, AN OVERVIEW OF HISTORY AND IDEOLOGY	3
FROM THE MACHANOT	13
DROR AND THE BIALYSTOK GHETTO UPRISING	21
NOTES ON THE MERGER	28
IN DEPTH HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT	41
IDEOLOGY AND MOETZET DROR RESOLUTIONS	53
ASSORTED ARTICLES FROM CHULIA (MOVEMENT PUBLICATION)	80

"Dror Baby!
And don't you forget it!*"
Love Jamie Levin"



*If you want to know more read on. . .

From Habonim Dror North America

Veida Number 7

Plenary 2: PROGRAMS (Yoshevet Rosh: Jessica Silver)

Proposal 1: Jared Matas

Builders and Dreamers

Whereas upon each member's completion of MBI they are considered Hadracha and traditionally given a Habonim Dror chultza;

Whereas Habonim Dror is a movement that builds for our future with knowledge of our past;

Whereas the history of Habonim Dror is beautifully and thoroughly collected and described in a both informing and interesting manner in the Builders and Dreamers; Whereas the Jewish people is the People of the Book; Thereby be it resolved that "Builders and Dreamers" be used within the Movement to promote our collective history and build an understanding of where we are going, based on knowledge of where we came from. This will be implemented by giving Hadracha, along with a chultza, a copy of "Builders and Dreamers." Where this is not financially possible, there shall be encouragement for the individuals to buy a copy of the book, subsidized by the movement if necessary.

Amendments:

The Mazkirut Artzit will look into a discount price for those on MBI

It will be encouraged for tzevet members at machaneh to buy a copy directly from their salary.

Jamie Levin expressed concern at the lack of Dror history, and agreed to compile material that could be used as a supplement to the book.

There was consensus that the cost of the book should not be in any way increase the cost of the programs.

The book should be used as a fund-raiser whenever possible.

Passed with amendments: 77 in favour, 2 opposed, 1 abstention.

Dror Zionist Youth Organization

The meaning of the Hebrew word 'Dror' means 'freedom', and it represents the age old struggle of the Jewish people to free themselves of the burden of an environment which is alien and, at times, hostile to their existence as Jews.

The solution to this problem has been best expressed by the ideological founder of Poale Zion (Labour Zionist), Bar Borochov:

"Our nationalism does not mean that we wish to isolate ourselves from the rest of the world. On the contrary, we feel that by being loyal Jews we can better serve not ourselves but also the world at large; our contribution would be of far greater value to mankind at the present.

Thus, by serving the interests of our own people, we also serve humanity. Can an Englishman be a good Englishman without first being a good member of this nation? Likewise, can we be good citizens of the world without first being good Jews?"

To be good Jews, we must possess the knowledge and a sense of pride of ourselves as a nation. However, we cannot be a normal nation unless we possess the universally accepted properties of a nation, - including a land and a language of our own.

Since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, we have regained these prerequisites: we have a land and a language of our own.

As members of Dror Zionist Youth Organization, we strive towards Aliyah, i.e. towards the final goal of settling in Israel, towards self fulfillment in a humanistic social scheme - called the Kibbutz.

Dror is a world-wide movement encompassing tens of thousands of Jewish youth in Europe, South and North America. Its base is in Israel, and it functions within the system of the Kibbutz Hamoahad, which is an association of a net of Kibbutzim, within the framework of the Achdut Hakvoda, now an integral part of the United Labour Alignment, which stands at the head of the Government of Israel.

During the past 20 years of its existence in Toronto, Dror was successful in sending numerous Garinim (groups) on Aliyah to Israel, who settled in various Kibbutzim.

Dror is conducting an all-year round series of exciting activities. This past summer our members spent 7 weeks at Camp Geshar, our own summer camp, which is located in Eastern Ontario, 90 miles from Ottawa. Our camp programmes are designed to familiarize the chanichim with the life in Israel, the type of Kibbutz Society, while providing at the same time genuine camp activities such as scouting, swimming, canoeing, water skiing, hiking, various sports, etc. We had 116 chanichim and madrichim this summer.

During the Fall, Winter and early Spring months, Dror is conducting a moadon (club activities), located at the Borochev Centre, 272 Codsell Ave., Downsview, Ontario. On week days we operate a Drop-In Club for high school youth, where we spend enjoyable hours, chatting, and listening to music in congenial company, over a cup of coffee.

On Friday nights we are arranging Onegai Shabbats for all ages. Welcoming the Sabbath by candle-lighting and appropriate ceremonies. Our members sing, dance and enjoy a veritable Shabbat atmosphere. We celebrate all the Jewish Holidays and on Chanukah and Passover we have a large festive party with our senior members and parents in the Borochev.

On Sunday afternoons our club groups conduct various activities suitable to the weather and the season, such as outings, sports activities, swimming, folk dancing, tobogganing, movies, etc.

Last Spring we had a seminar for our older members for educational purposes. We had guest speakers and had very interesting discussions and also enjoyed the winter with outdoor activities.

The movement is under the direction and responsible guidance of experienced Madrichim (councillors), headed by a Maskir (secretary) and advised by a Shaliach (a specially delegated envoy) from Israel.

The Chanichim are in groups according to age; from Amelim of 8 years to the Megidim of 16 years. 120 Chanichim are coming to the movement now in Toronto, and 60 members in our unit in Montreal. Together with Montreal and New York we are sending a garin to Israel, which will stay on Kibbutz Machanayim.

The highlight of this year is the 25th Anniversary of the Independence of the State of Israel, and we will have many activities surrounding this event. Right now we are involved in the work for the freedom of our brothers imprisoned and not allowed to leave the U.S.S.R. We are trying to create a better relationship with the senior movement in order to bring the young leadership to the Labour Party.

The needs of Jewish Youth today could be fulfilled only by joint Dror and the Poale Zion Party. Therefore there is a need for a young Zionist Youth Organization, and Dror is the answer.

==DROR==

The Origins of our Movement



Our movement is not one which was founded because of decisions or desires from outside bodies. Our Movement came about in each country as a result of the needs and aspirations of the young Jews in that country. It was thus popular movement and has always been capable of adapting itself to new and different conditions. Its roots are many and its ideological platform not the work of a single day, but of a long and complex history. The origins of our Movement can be traced through the following movements; a) Hechalutz; b) Hechalutz Hatzair; c) Freiheit-Dror; d) Dror-Hechalutz Hatzair; e) Hano'ar Haborochovi; f) Hamachanot Ha'Olim; g) Dror Olmit.

To mark the occasion, a new symbol (badge) was adopted by the whole Movement, consisting of the Magen David, a symbol of Israel and the Jewish people, under two ears of wheat, representative of youth and agriculture also reminiscent of the Palmach. The slogan "Alo Na'aleh" is inscribed on the Magen David as a reminder of the movement's ultimate goal.

Fundamentals of our Ideology

- Jewish Nationalism: What future is there for a Jew outside of Israel?
- Chalutzit: The pioneering spirit.
- Jewish Self Defence: Jewish life must be defended where-ever and whenever it is threatened.
- Equality: History has shown that youth is only able to realize socialism
- Open to all: Our kibbutz and youth movements have always held their doors wide open to all.

Our Movement

Preamble of the Constitution of Dror - North America, May 25 1976

Dror Young Zionist Organization is affiliated with the political party Mifleget Avodah in Israel and the Labour Zionist Alliance in North America. Dror is the Youth Movement of Kibbutz Hame'uchad.

As an activist youth movement DROR ideals are as follows:

- 1) As Labour Zionists we believe that socialism provides the best vehicle for creating politically, socially and economically just and free state in Israel.
- 2) The education of its members in the appreciation of the Hebrew language and culture, and of Jewish history and traditions building an active Jewish consciousness in the Diaspora.
- 3) That Jewish activity in North America should promote Chalutzic Aliyah to kibbutz in which the individual can be free from exploitation and realize full human potential.

DROR MEANS FREEDOM

We are a group of Jewish youths over 90 in number, members of Dror, of an age-range between 8 and 20 years. The meaning of the Hebrew word Dror is freedom, and it represents the age-old struggle of the Jewish people to free themselves of the burden of an environment which is alien and, at times, hostile to their existence as Jews.

The solution to this problem has been best expressed by the ideological founder of Poale Zionism (Labor Zionism), Ber Borochov:

"Our nationalism does not mean that we wish to isolate ourselves from the rest of the world. On the contrary, we feel that by being loyal Jews we can better serve not ourselves but also the world at large; our contribution would be of far greater value to mankind at the present.

Thus, by serving the interests of our own people, we also serve humanity. Can an Englishman be a good Englishman without first being a good member of this nation? Likewise, can we be good citizens of the world without first being good Jews?"

To be good Jews, we must possess the knowledge and a sense of pride of ourselves as a nation. However, we cannot be a normal nation unless we possess the universally accepted properties of a nation, - including a land and a language of our own.

Since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, we have : regained these prerequisites: we have a land and a language of our own.

As members of Dror Zionist Youth Organisation we strive towards Aliyah, i.e. towards the final goal of settling in Israel, towards self-fulfillment in a humanistic social scheme - called the Kibbutz.

Dror is a world-wide movement encompassing tens of thousands of Jewish youths in Europe, Africa, North America. Its base is in Israel, and it functions within the system of the Kibbutz Hameuhad, which is an association of a net of Kibbutzim, within the framework of the Achdut HaAvoda, now an integral part of the United Labor Alignment, which stands at the head of the Government of Israel.

During the past 20 years of its existence in Toronto, Dror was successful in sending numerous Garinim (groups) on Aliyah to Israel, who settled in various Kibbutzim.

Dror is conducting an all-year round series of exciting activities. This past Summer our members spent 6 weeks at Camp Gesher, our own Summer Camp, which is located in Eastern Ontario, 40 miles from Ottawa. Our camp programmes are designed to familiarize the chanihim with the life in Israel, the type of Kibbutz Society, while providing at the same time genuine camp activities such as scouting, swimming, canoeing, water-skiing, various sports, etc.

During the Fall, Winter and early Spring months, Dror is conducting a moadon (club activities), located at the Borochov Centre, 272 Woodwell Downview, Ontario. On week days we operate a Drop-In Club for High School youths, where we spend enjoyable hours, chatting, and listening to music in congenial company, over a cup of coffee.

On Friday nights we are arranging On'gei Shabbats for all ages. Welcoming the Shbat by candle-lighting and appropriate ceremonies. Our members sing, dance and enjoy a veritable Shabbat atmosphere.

On Sunday afternoons our club groups are conducting various activities suitable to the weather and the season, such as outings, sport activities, swimming, folk dancing, tobogganning, movies, etc.

The movement is under the direction and responsible guidance of experienced Madrichim (counsellors) headed by a Mazkir (secretary) and advised by a Shaliach (a specially delegated envoy) from Israel.

The Chanichim are divided into groups according to age: from Amelim of 8 years, to the Meginim of 16 years.

In sum: Dror caters to the needs of Jewish youths. If you are interested to know more about Dror, please come and pay us a visit. You will be our welcomed guest, and be given the opportunity to see for yourselves DROR AT WORK!

- 4) To strengthen the bonds between Jewish Youth throughout the world
- 5) To broaden understanding on the part of its members concerning Jewish affairs in Israel and the Diaspora.
- 6) To help members realize their capabilities and to develop a feeling of responsibility for the chaverim in the movement.
- 7) The defence of Jewish rights everywhere.
- 8) To follow in the Jewish humanitarian tradition on behalf of people in need wherever they may be.
- 9) To express concretely our chalutzic ideals we take initiative in the establishment of Moshavim in Israel.

DROR ZIONIST YOUTH ORG.

The Hebrew word 'Dror' means 'freedom', and it represents the age-old struggle of the Jewish people to free themselves of the burden of an environment which is alien and, at times, hostile to their existence as Jews.

DROR is here to help the Jewish youth to fulfill its needs, as part of the Jewish Community, and as a group of boys and girls in their social life.

As a member of Dror one must strive towards Aliyah, the final goal of settling in Israel in a social way of life -- the Kibbutz.

DROR is a world-wide movement encompassing tens of thousands of Jewish young people in Europe, South and North America. Its base is in Israel, and it functions within the system of the Kibbutz Hameuchad which is an association of a net of settlements, within the framework of Achdut HaAvoda, now an integral part of the United Labour Alignment, which stands at the head of the Government of Israel.

During the past 20 years of its existence in Toronto, DROR was successful in sending numerous groups on Aliyah to Israel, who settled in various kibbutzim.

DROR is conducting an all-year round series of exciting activities. This past summer our members spent 7 weeks at Camp Gasher, which is located in Eastern Ontario, 90 miles from Ottawa. Our camp programmes are designed to familiarize the campers with the life in Israel, the type of Kibbutz Society, while providing at the same time genuine camp activities such as scouting, swimming, canoeing, water-skiing, hiking, various sports, etc.

During the fall, winter, and early spring months, Dror operates Moshonim (clubs) in three cities - Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa, where the members are meeting and conducting their activities.

On Friday nights there are Onegei Shabbat for all ages; we welcome the Sabbath by candle-lighting and appropriate ceremonies. There is singing, dancing and other social and cultural enjoyments. Dror celebrates all the Jewish Holidays.

On Sunday afternoons, Dror members conduct various activities, suitable to the weather conditions and the season. (Such as outings, folk dancing, tobogganing, movies, etc.)

The Movement is under the direction and responsible guidance of experienced Madrichim (counsellors) headed by a Maskir (Secretary) and advised by a Shaliach (especially delegated envoy from Israel). There is the constant effort to create a better relationship with the senior movement in order to bring the young leadership closer to the Labour Party. Dror has always been a part of the United Poale Zion Party.

All Jewish youth are invited to attend our activities on Friday nights. We are located at 272 Codrill Avenue, one block north of Sheppard at Wilson Heights. For more information about our activities, etc. phone 633-2511.



"D R O R" - Our Movement

NAME : "Dror" is a Hebrew word which means "freedom".

SEMEI : (Emblem); Our emblem is made up of a "Magen David" (Star of David) symbolizing Zionism and Israel; Two sheaves of wheat symbolizing work, especially on the land; and the words "Alo Na'aleh", which means, "Let us go on aliyah". (Aliyah, literally 'going up', means emigration to Israel. It is thought of as a step forward.)

HISTORY : Our movement developed out of the needs of Jewish youth to find their own solutions to the problems facing them. The first groups were formed after World War I in a number of countries. The movement was not created from above, by adult organizations, but was born by its own members, adjusting themselves to their objective conditions. Eventually several youth movements merged to form what is now Dror.

The youth movement "Freiheit" ('freedom' in German) was formed in Poland in 1926. It was a political movement affiliated with the Poalei-Zion (Workers for Zion) party. Similar youth movements, affiliated with the party, grew up in many countries in Europe and Latin America. The largest movement was in Poland, where its members came mainly from working youth. They were educated to chalutzic (pioneering) and socialist values with Yiddish as its spoken language. In 1933, the name "Dror" was chosen for the world movement representing all the youth movements parallel to Freiheit in the different countries.

In 1938, Dror joined Hechalutz Hatzair (the young pioneer) which was also founded in 1926. Hechalutz gave to the movement its chalutzic experience and spirit, its culture and its thousands of members. Dror gave its political consciousness, its ties with the Jewish working movements, and its influence among young Jewish workers.

The war hit the movement very hard, but it continued its activities. Members of DROR were among the organizers and leaders of the magnificent Warsaw Ghetto uprising in 1943. After the war (1947), a world congress of the movement was held in Bavaria, in which the basic platform and principles of the united world movement were reaffirmed. Also in 1947, DROR began its first activities in North America with the help of the first shlichim from Hachibbutz Hameuchad.

ORGANIZATION : DROR functions openly in Brazil, France, Belgium, England, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, The United States, and Canada.

It is apparent that members of Dror throughout the world speak various languages and have different cultural backgrounds. However all of us are educated in the movement in accordance with the same basic ideas and principles - toward aliyah to Israel and Kibbutz Hameuchad. (In Israel, DROR is called "Hamachnot Ha'olim").

The central office of the movement is in Tel-Aviv. There are three regional continental offices (lishkot), in Paris, New York and Buenos Aires. The highest body of the world movement is Merkaz Dror, which consists of previous shlichim to the various countries and active Bogrim of DROR who have already become kibbutz members. Merkaz Dror convenes to discuss the basic problems of the movement and guide its development in the various countries.

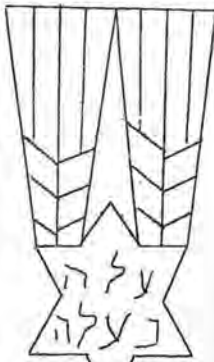
PRINCIPLES AND GOALS :

ZIONISM : The "Jewish problem" will be solved only through the gathering of the majority of the Jewish nation in its ancient homeland - the land of Israel. To this end, we must settle a complete and undivided Israel (while guarding the full rights of the Arabs living there), and thus lay the foundation for the return of the Jewish nation to its land. Only by establishing Jewish settlements through the length and breadth of the land will the peace - and the very existence - of our State guaranteed.

SOCIALISM : WE want to build lives of justice and equality for everyone in the land of Israel and in the world. Our goal is to create in Israel a society living by its own work and not by exploitation or parasitism.

SELF-REALIZATION : DROR'S goal in America is for every movement member who has completed his education - within the movement and at school - to make aliyah to Israel, there to actively realize and live by our principles - in whatever pattern his life may take, but hopefully on kibbutz.

IN SUMMARY : DROR educates its members towards the self-realization of their national and social ideals through chalutzit and Aliyah to kibbutz. It guides to a life of labour, creativity, self-defense, knowledge of and pride in our Jewish heritage, Hebrew language and culture, and participation in the renaissance of the Jewish people in our homeland, Israel.



How does Camp fit In?

Our first aim of camp is to have a good time. In a great atmosphere it is a great chance to educate new and old movement members concerning the movements ideals and goals. It is an escape from the pressures of city life and the life of our society. We have a chance to introduce the idea of Zionism at a minimal level, it at all to the people. We try our best to make camp similar to kibbutz life in the way the maskirut runs the camp, having toranut, avodah, rikud, etc. We try to educate in the form of games - Haapala and Hityashvut for example. Education through experience is of course the best method. Aside from this we have sichot and evening programs which are aimed at Zionism. Although Zionism is our main theme we are also interested in controversial, contemporary, idiosyncracies of the present day society. All this can only be achieved through an enjoyable summer with everyone working together.

Amelim - workers	Sicha - discussion	Tiyul - Hike
Solelim - pave the road	Semel - emblem	Chadar Ochel - dining hall
Mordim - rebels	Shira - singing	Degel - flag
Meginim - guardians	Kvutsah - group	Minucha - rest period
	Tochnit - program	Chofesh - free time
Avodah - work	Shmira - guard duty	Chaver - friend
Machaneh - camp	Toranut - washing	Refet - farm
Peula - activity	Bet Shimush - washroom	Chanich - camper
Rikudim - dancing	Midbach - Kitchen	Briut - toilet duty

Dear Jared:

I'm the Education Director at Temple Sinai in South Burlington, VT. I've been in touch with Shari Troy because we're in the midst of Camp Night and she's been my contact. She tells me you're compiling some sort of history of Dror. While I was not a member of the movement, I attended Camp Ein Harod in the summer of '69, in the Solelim group, and have some wonderful memories. I loved the camp. Unfortunately, my mother hated it (probably for the very reasons I liked it) and wouldn't let me return. I still have great memories of Capitalist Day, Aliya Bet, Duddy Wenger jumping into the cesspool to retrieve Sheldon's diary, the day much of the camp took off to go to some concert (which, of course, turned out to be Woodstock). anyway, back to the future. I just remember it as a fun, wonderful time and Ein Harod being the coolest summer camp.
 Judy Alexander

Builders and Dreamers

Cloyne, Ontario, 1975: The First Summer at Camp Gesher: A Shaliach's Report

Gil Slonim

Montreal 1975

For the last several years, after the closure first of Camp Kvutza and then of Camp Dan, we in Montreal Habonim felt the need for our own camp very strongly. This year, after working out an agreement with the Dror youth movement to share their camp in Ontario—Gesher—we took a large step toward filling that need. And, if our first summer at Gesher is any indication, the "shiduch" (match) between the two youth movements seems to have been a successful one.

A group of fourteen staff members and forty-five campers from Montreal, many of whom were brought up in Habonim, joined people from Dror in Ottawa and Toronto, and the two movements worked together and complemented each other to create a well-rounded and enjoyable program.

Much of the educational programming at Gesher took the form of special theme days and evening programs in which the entire camp participated. Just a few days after the campers arrived, they were divided into three groups—chasidim, Yemenites, and "black Jews"—for a "Jews Around the World Day" in which they had to dress and act according to the customs of their respective group. The day included a carnival, and closed with each group performing a wedding ceremony in one of the three traditions.

One program that is a traditional favorite at Gesher is "Ha'apalah Night." The illegal immigration to Palestine during the British mandate period was reenacted by the campers, who were awakened in the middle of the night and taken a couple of miles down the road from the camp. They then had to find their way back into camp, with the help of the "Haganah" and the "Palmach," always being careful to avoid the "British" who were stationed along the way.

Evening programs, especially those on Friday nights, were special events. The theme for a particular Friday night would be announced in advance, and each kvutza would decorate its cabin according to the theme. On Chasidic Night, for example, the program consisted of chasidic songs and dances, as well as readings and stories about chasidism. Each kvutza was responsible for preparing and presenting a different part of the program, so that most of the camp participated actively in some way. Other themes that were dealt with in a similar manner were kibbutz, which was presented through a skit and a debate, and "shalom"—an evening of songs, poems and readings on the theme of peace.

Two other evening programs deserve special attention. On Tisha B'Av, the entire camp marched down to the beach in a silent procession where they

Habonim at Camp

witnessed the "burning of the Temple"—a wooden frame that had been soaked in kerosene. Then everyone assembled in the Bet Tarbut, the activity hall, where the program dealt mainly with the Holocaust, again through a series of readings, poems, and songs. Many of the campers were so moved by the program that they decided to observe the tradition of fasting the following day.

The final Friday evening was "Erev Tnuah"—Movement Night. It was designed to remind the campers that movement activities do not end with the closing of camp. It began with the lighting of a firesign on the beach, with the mottoes of Habonim and Dror lit up in flames. Then a skit was presented, showing the different stages a movement member goes through, from the initial shyness at his first movement meeting, through marriage to a girl from his kvutza, and aliyah to kibbutz. It was one of the most successful programs of the summer, and hopefully its effects will be seen when we see familiar faces from camp at our Habonim meetings in the city.

Of course, Geshar also had many of the activities of nonmovement camps—swimming, boating, sports, games, hiking, and scoutcraft. But even some of these activities had a different flavor at Geshar. One thing that stands out in my mind is a *sichah* (discussion) that we had while away on our canoe trip—sitting around the fire at our campsite, talking about the difference between Geshar and other camps, and the importance of trying to define and maintain a Jewish identity for nonobservant or secular Jews. The discussion went on for quite a while, and I think it would have gone on even longer had it not been for the mosquitoes and the realization that we had a hard day of paddling and portaging ahead of us.

While one is working at a camp, the pressures and frustrations of day-to-day life make it hard to develop a perspective on how, in general, things are going. But looking back, I feel that our experience of the past summer was very positive and that Geshar has the potential to become an outstanding camp.

GENERAL RULES FOR THE MADRICH

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Personal Example | 6. Drugs |
| 2. Responsibility | 7. Smoking |
| 3. Daily Order | 8. Alcohol |
| 4. Outward Appearance | 9. Days and Nights off |
| 5. Activities | 10. Different Activities, raids... |

1. PERSONAL EXAMPLE. If you were asked to sum up in one sentence all the rules governing the madrich, you could say: He must at all times set an example for the chanich. Everything else is built on this. This means first to duty and last to comfort. (E.G., When seconds are served the madrich takes last, after checking that all at his table are satisfied.) Understand also that during your own activities you remain a personal example for the chanichim.
2. RESPONSIBILITY. The madrich has the responsibility of the parents as long as the camper is in camp and under his/her care, 24 hours. The "personal touch" of each madrich is the most important factor in camp. The emotional well-being of each individual chanich is the direct and most important responsibility of the madrich - this includes such things as the chanich's moods, interests, and general satisfaction.
3. DAILY SCHEDULE. The loud speaker will be used as infrequently as possible. Therefore, the madrich is the one who must carry out the daily order - happily, willingly, efficiently. He must be familiar with the time changes for each activity and make sure his kvutza appears punctually.
4. OUTWARD APPEARANCE. Sloppiness is the enemy of fun and efficiency. If you look sloppy, you feel sloppy; if you feel sloppy, you will act accordingly - sloppily - and so will your chanichim.
5. ACTIVITIES. When a madrich takes his kvutza to an activity, he/she must remain and participate.
6. The Use of illicit drugs by a staff member or camper is prohibited.
7. Cigarette smoking is prohibited in the following places and/or times:
 - a) In the Chadar Ochel
 - b) During activities, eg.
 1. daily periods
 2. sports games
 3. evening programs
8. Liquor or beer are not allowed in the camp, unless decided otherwise.
9. Days off and nights off will be given according to decisions made by the maskirut.
10. Any activity that is desired by a staff member for his or her group, that is not included in the camp program must have the O.K. by the program director and Merakez. An example of such an activity is a night hike or a raid.

DROR

YOUNG ZIONIST ORGANIZATION -

דור



NEW YOUTH CENTER IN THE BRONX

2449 Morris Ave. (on the corner of Fordham Rd.)

THE CENTER IS OPEN EVERY FRIDAY NIGHT (8 P. M.) AND ON SATURDAYS

*ISRAELI DANCES *FOLK SINGING *CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

for further information call TR 3-4209

DROR - CAMP EIN HAROD



Summer Camp for boys and girls 9-17, near Ellenville, N. Y.

Write to: 2091 B'way, N. Y. C. - or telephone: TR 3-4209
evenings: 569-0967

CAMP GESHET

SCHEDULE FOR PRE CAMP 1974.

	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY
7:30	WAKE UP	LITANLUT	SHIRA	MEKAD		
8:15	ARUCHAT BOKER					
9:00	FIRST AID EMERGENCY PROCEDURES	SCOUTING KNOTS EQUIPMENT (CAMPING)	TOUR OF LAND OLIVES incl. BENJAMIN DOWNTOWN NORTH BROOK LUNCH AT BON ECHO	SLEEP IN	WAKE- UP	
10:30	AVODAH		AVODA (CLEANING)		FINAL CLEANING & PREPARATION CAMPERS ARRIVE	
12:30	ARUCHAT TZOHORAYIN	SHIRA				
1:00	MENUCHA	FREE TIME	USE OF FACILITIES		LUNCH	
2:00		AVODAH	A & C INDOOR + OUTDOOR	SPORTS	CAMPERS SETTING IN	
3:30		ARUCHAT	ARBA			
4:00		INTRODUCTION WATERFRONT	AVODAH	AVODAH	TABLE SPORTS	
6:00	ARUCHAT EREV	CHOFESEH	USE OF FACILITIES			
8:00	SICHA	COOK OUT MEDURA	NIGHT ON THE TOWN	ONEA SHABAT	BABY BLUE HOUSE R. (18 AND OVER)	

DROR

YOUNG ZIONIST ORGANIZATION - QUEENS BRANCH

106 - 21 71st AVENUE

(2nd floor - room 10)

One block from the Continental Ave. Subway station.
On the corner of Austin Street.

NEW YOUTH CENTER IN FOREST HILLS QUEENS

The activities include:

- * SPORTS
- * OUTINGS
- * DISCUSSIONS
- * GAMES
- * HEBREW
- * CAMP WEEKENDS
& HIKES
- * ISRAELI DANCES
- * FOLK SINGING
- * ARTS & CRAFTS

& other Social and Cultural activities. There are regular Friday evening programs (Oneg Shabat) at 8:00 P.M. and Saturday morning activities at 11:00 A.M.

IF YOU ARE BETWEEN THE AGE OF 12-17 COME OVER TO VISIT US.
There is no charge.

The activities are for both boys and girls. You will have a chance to make new friends and join with them in enjoyable and worthwhile activities.

For Further Information Call the New Centre - BO 1-6111
or The Main Office - TR 3-4209

DROR is a member of the American Zionist Youth Foundation and maintains centers throughout New York and in other cities. DROR operates three summer and three winter camps.

DROR - CAMP EIN HAROD

A wonderful summer in the beautiful Catskill mountains for boys and girls 9-18.

Special C.I.T. and leadership programs for 15-18 year olds.

All sports, swimming, boating, riding, hiking and many other creative activities.

Write to: 2091 Broadway, N.Y. 23 - or telephone: TR 3-4209
18 evenings: EN 2-7129



DROR — 7177

YOUNG ZIONIST ORGANIZATION
2091 BROADWAY, NEW YORK,
N. Y. 10023 TR 3-4209

Dear

DROR has various activities which appeal to different age groups. The groups have social activities, trips, and discussions with emphasis on Jewish culture and on ties with Israel. Each age-group is geared according to its capacity. We have the following groups:

Mordim - 9th and 10th grades
Chotrim - 11th grade
Meginim - 12th grade
Ma'apilim and Bogrim - college.

Beside group meetings, we meet every Friday night at our various club-houses where we have prepared programs, singing and dancing, movies, and discussions on current topics. We cordially invite you to attend an Oneg Shabat at:

Bronx - 2449 Morris Ave.
(corner of Fordham Road)
Queens - 106-21 71st Ave.
(Room 10, near Austen St.)
Brooklyn - 113 Avenue J.
(entrance on East 12th St.)

or for further information phone us at 873-4209, or visit us at 2091 Broadway, (IRT, 7th Ave. line, 72nd St. stop).

Thank you for your interest,
Shalom,
Dror - Young Zionist Organization.

DROR

YOUNG ZIONIST ORGANIZATION - BROOKLYN BRANCH

1113 AVENUE J

(Entrance from E 12 Street)

Brighton BMT line
Four blocks from Ave. J Station
One block from Coney Island Avenue

NEW YOUTH CENTER IN FLATBUSH

The activities include:

- * SPORTS
- * GAMES
- * ISRAELI DANCES
- * OUTINGS
- * HEBREW
- * FOLK SINGING
- * DISCUSSIONS
- * CAMP WEEKENDS
& HIKES
- * ARTS & CRAFTS

& other Social and Cultural activities. There are regular Friday evening programs (Oneg Shabat) at 8:00 P.M. and Saturday morning activities at 11:00 A.M.

IF YOU ARE BETWEEN THE AGE OF 12-17 COME OVER TO VISIT US.
There is no charge.

The activities are for both boys and girls. You will have a chance to make new friends and join with them in enjoyable and worthwhile activities.

For Further Information Call the New Centre - 258-9080.
or The Main Office - TR 3-4209

DROR is a member of the American Zionist Youth Foundation and maintains centers throughout New York and in other cities. DROR operates three summer and three winter camps.

DROR - CAMP EIN HAROD

A wonderful summer in the beautiful Catskill mountains for boys and girls 9-18.

Special C.I.T. and leadership programs for 15-18 year olds.

All sports, swimming, boating, riding, hiking and many other creative activities.

Write to: 2091 Broadway, N. Y. 23 - or telephone: TR 3-4209
evenings: EN 2-7129

Bialystok Ghetto:

To Escape or to Revolt?

A discussion in the general meeting (asepha) of Kibbutz Tel Chai and activists of the Dror youth movement in Bialystok on February 27, 1943. The protocols were buried in Bialystok, and found after the war.

Hordechaj Tannenbaum:

I'm glad that at least we're in a good mood. Unfortunately, the meeting won't be very gay; the meeting is "historic", or "tragic", as you prefer, but certainly sad. The few people sitting here are the last chalutzim in Poland. We are entirely surrounded by the dead. You know what has happened in Warsaw? No one is left; the same is true of Bendin and Czesochowa, and probably everywhere else.

We are the last. It isn't a particularly pleasant feeling to be the last; on the contrary, it imposes a special responsibility on us. We have to decide what to do tomorrow. There is no point in sitting together, especially in our kibbutz, and waiting for death. What shall we do?

We can do two things; decide that with the first Jew to be deported now from Bialystok, we start our counter-attack, and that from tomorrow on, no one goes to the factory; that in the hour of the "action" (the Nazi deportations to the concentration camps), none of us is allowed to hide. Everyone will be mobilized. We can see to it that not one German leaves the ghetto alive; and that not one factory is left standing.

It is not out of the question that after we have finished our task we may still be alive, but it must be a fight till the last man, till we die.

We can also decide to escape to the woods. We must consider the possibilities realistically. Two members were sent out today to prepare a place for us.

Whatever we decide, as soon as this meeting is over, military discipline is imposed. We must make a decision now. Our parents will not worry about us, for we are all orphans.

A precondition for action; we must make an ideological decision, the movement's ideals must guide us. Everyone who imagines that he has a real chance shall get as much help as we can give. Everyone will decide his fate for himself, whether to live or to die.

BACKGROUND FACTS FOR THE DISCUSSION OF THE CHALUTZIM
IN THE BIALYSTOK GHETTO:

1. You are a member of "Kibbutz Tel Chai" and "Dror" youth movement in the Bialystok ghetto. You have at your disposal an underground bunker that you dug which allows all of you a protracted stay underground. You number 147 young people altogether.
2. The year is 1943. The majority of Polish Jewry has already been destroyed. In January, 1943, the first Warsaw Ghetto uprising took place. (In Warsaw, only 50,000 Jews remain out of an original half-million).
3. The "action" (the first deportations to the concentration camps) took place in the Bialystok ghetto in the beginning of February, 1943. About 10,000 Jews were taken. One thousand were killed in the process. 32,000 Jews remain in the ghetto.
4. The chalutzic underground is preparing weapons, and producing grenades and "Holotov cocktails". There is a debate about the timing of the revolt. Any postponement could lead to the saving of Jews if the war goes against Germany, or if there is a revolution within Germany to overthrow the Nazis. (The time: after the battles of Stalingrad and El Alamein).
5. The feeling in the "kibbutz": you are the very last of the chalutzic movement in Poland.
6. Members of the kibbutz have tried in the past to break through to Palestine by way of Vilna; when they did not succeed, they returned to Bialystok. In the kibbutz, you studied Ivrut, Zionism, etc. as well as preparing yourselves for physical work, and had you not been trapped in the war, you would no doubt be settled in Eretz Yisrael.
7. Various attempts to escape to the woods in the past were perceived as problematic and very dangerous. The sorts of arms suitable for ghetto warfare were not generally known as being suitable for partisan warfare in the forests.
8. Among you are some members of the chalutzic movement who were brought from Vilna when the Vilna ghetto was destroyed.
9. You are sitting in an asepha of Kibbutz Tel Chai, on February 27, 1943 in the Bialystok ghetto.
There are two choices facing you:
 - a. to flee to the forest
 - b. to stay in the ghetto and organize the revolt

But we, as a kibbutz, must find a collective solution to the general problem. I don't want to impose my opinion on anyone else, and so I won't state my preference at this stage.

Yitzchak Engelman:

Here, we are discussing two ways of dying. One is to start a "counter-action" whose meaning is certain death. The other way is also death after two or three days. We have to examine both ways. Maybe we can do something. As I don't know the full details, I would like to hear clear options from those chaverim who do know. If there is a way that some chaverim can stay alive, we must consider it.

Hershel Rosenthal:

It is still too early to sum up what has happened to us in the past year and a half. But, when we are faced now with this fateful decision, we are still obliged to tell ourselves what has happened during this time.

In the past year and a half, hundreds of thousands of Jews have been killed. The enemy, with unbelievable cunning, succeeded in confusing us and leading us like beasts to the slaughter at Ponar, Chelmo, and Treblinka. This chapter of the destruction of the Jewish communities in Poland will not only be the most tragic chapter in Jewish history, but also the ugliest. It is a period of Jewish cowardice and impotence. Even our movement did not always manage to act appropriately. Instead of giving the signal for desperate resistance, we postpone the decision in place, after place. Even in Warsaw. The uprising would have been different had it begun at the beginning and not at the end of the extermination. Here in Bialystok it is our fate to be the last in this bloody tragedy. What is our duty, and what can we do?

In my opinion, the objective position is like this: the vast majority of the ghetto, and of our family here is doomed to death. Our fate is sealed. We never saw the forest as a hiding place. The forest was always a place of warfare and vengeance for us.

Yet the tens of young people who are taking to the woods these days are not looking for a place to fight. Most of them lead beggars' lives; and most of their deaths are beggars' deaths.

In our conditions today, we can also expect to die like beggars.

Therefore only one thing is left to us; that is to organize collective resistance in the ghetto at any price, to see the ghetto as our last stand, and to add a chapter of honor to the history of Jewish Bialystok and of our movement.

I can imagine the natural reaction of any other man, if he would see these terrible things done to his closest friends and family that we have seen. The most simple and crude of the non-Jews would rid himself of his own fear, and stick a knife into the murderer. The only emotion that he would feel would be a desire for vengeance. It is clear to us: with the next deportation of Jews we must begin the counter-action. If anyone manages to disarm the murderers and flee to the forest - that would be the best. A young man who is armed will find his place in the forest

Mordechai:

If we really wanted to, and if it was our purpose, then we could defend our people till the end, as long as there are Jews in Bialystok.

I will ask a direct question: do the chaverim arguing for the forests believe that we should hide, and not react to the next "action", so that afterwards we come out from the forests?

(Cries from all sides: "No, not that!")

We have heard two opinions. One of Sarah and Chaim, the other of Hershel and Chanoch. The choice is yours. One thing is clear: we will not go to the factories to pray that their people are taken so that we shall be saved, and we cannot watch other Jews being led to death from behind the windows of our factory.

Chaverim will now have to choose - Hershel or Chaim?

Fania Sich (Dror branch):

I agree with Chanoch. The choice is ours; we can choose one big one-time act here, or a number of separate, smaller activities in the forest - whose total value will be greater.

Since we can't leave immediately for the woods, and there is great tension here, we must put our full effort into the "counter-action" here, and begin the revolt with the taking of the first Jew, with all that this implies. But if the "cease-fire" lasts another few weeks, we must do all in our power to get to the woods.

Eliezer Sucharnitzki (Dror branch):

Chaverim, in my opinion we must not act in two directions. The forest is a good idea, as it gives us some possibility of staying alive. But in our present situation, with the "action" so near, it is an illusion.

Even if we have three to four weeks respite, we could not manage to acquire all the equipment we need to go to the forest. In my mind, we have only one option - to reply to the "action" with our "counter-action". I think we should work only in this direction, and give a worthy reply with the limited means at our disposal.

Yocheved Weinstein:

Why are we speaking of death so much? This is unnatural. A soldier at the front, or a partisan - even at the hour of greatest danger - thinks of living. We know what our situation is. But why must we incessantly frighten ourselves with death?

We can go to the forest, or if we need to, begin the counter-action here. But it doesn't necessarily mean that we will be killed. All our discussion is opposed to our primitive will to survive.

Chanoch:

I disagree with Yocheved. We must be consistent. We must not give anyone a moral right to flee. In our action there is no room for compromise. Fighting means fighting until the last; it means being killed. I think it would be greater to stay alive - to go to the forest.

I propose that we set up a hiding place outside the ghetto, so that we can continue acts of sabotage from there, even after the "action".

Moishel Rotbart:

I am for beginning the counter-action with the taking of the first Jew. If there is a possibility, we should prepare a place in the forest. Each one of us must give an opinion. This asepha will decide the life or death of our chaverim. I don't mind if we continue all night.

Chaim:

You force everyone to speak, so that the asepha will decide "no revolt". You yourself say "yes", but you want others to say "no".

(Interruptions)

Dorka Tzarg (Dror branch):

I believe that our position is that of members of the movement, members with consciousness, who know what has happened to all our relatives.

We want to die with honor. In the forest, we will have more opportunities for vengeance, but we must not go to the woods as pitiful beggars, but as active partisans.

We cannot possibly prepare this properly, so we must devote all our energy to the counter-action.

Zipporah Birman:

It is hard to say anything, hard for humans to choose their death. In the depths of my soul, I feel a battle between life and death. It is not important if I, or someone else here, will remain alive. After all that has happened to us, and that we have witnessed with our own eyes, perhaps we are not so devoted to life. What worries me more is the question of the movement.

We are proud of the fact that our movement continued to survive even in the hardest of times for the Jews of Poland. I, like many others here today, was brought from Vilna. I'm sure there were more important people who should have been saved. So it was not me, or you, who was brought here, it was the movement.

Now the question is: is this the end of the movement? Can the movement allow itself to become extinct? Our movement belongs to the Jewish people and we must torment ourselves, and we do, with the troubles and torments of the whole people.

Yet when we talk here of the right to remain alive, I say: we have a perfect right. Our movement is perhaps the only one which will have something to say when the time comes. What about Warsaw? Certainly an honorable death, a fine human death, but never an act of the movement. Movement action means: to survive. Not merely to exist, nor to stay alive, but to ensure that we continue our activity, to continue the unbroken inheritance that was not cut off for even one moment in our darkest days.

Shmulik Zholta:

This is the first time that I have participated in an asepha on the subject of death. We are not preparing for the counter-action so that we can write history, but so that we can die with honor, as befits a young Jew in these times. And if it so happens that someone will write history, it will be different from that of the Spanish Jews, who went to the stake with the words "Shma Yisrael" on their lips.

Now, about the "action": our experience teaches us not to trust the Germans who promise to guard the factories, and say that only those who do not work will be sent away. By deceit and confusion alone, they have managed to lead thousands of Jews to their death. But despite all this, we have a chance to come out of this next "action."

Everyone wants to gain time. We can also do this. In the short time that is left we can act to add to our weapons, which at the moment are few and powerless. We should also look to the forest - where we can perform a two-fold task.

I do not want to be misunderstood. I do not want my suggestion to hide during the "action" to be considered as cowardice. It is not! Man's will to live is very strong, and we must be egoists. It doesn't bother me that others will be taken instead of us. We can rightly demand the right to live much more than other Jews. We have placed our purpose in front of us - to stay alive, at all costs. We were brought here from Vilna, as we were facing complete destruction there, and we needed live witnesses. So we must make every effort, before the final destruction, to gain time.

But if destruction is about to come, then let us all, as one, go into the "counter-action", and "let me die with the Philistines."

Sarah Kopinski:

I want the chaverim to know that I will do whatever is decided. I am just amazed at the calm of the discussion. When I am on my own, and see a German soldier, my whole body trembles. I don't know how the chaverim, especially the chaverot, will have the strength for the "counter-action."

I said what I said previously because I do not believe in my own strength.

Yechezkel Tikotski:

I don't agree with Sarah. Perhaps, when faced with death, you will be smitten with weakness and powerlessness, but you can also be very strong

when there is nothing left to lose. I agree with Shmulik, that we begin the "counter-action" only in the case of total destruction.

Ethel Sobol:

Let's get to the point. If the "action" takes place in the next few days, we have only one way for us, to start the "counter-action." If we have more time, we must try to move to the forests.

I only hope that I will be able to do what we must; perhaps I will get stronger when it begins. In any case, I will do whatever needs to be done.

Hershel spoke wisely. We are faced with a desperate act, which does not depend on us - our fate is sealed. We can only choose between two sorts of death. I am calm and collected.

Mordechai:

The decision of the chaverim is clear. We will do all we can to get as many as possible into the forests for partisan warfare. Anyone who is still in the ghetto at the time of the next "action" must respond the moment that they take the first Jew.

No one can bargain over the price of life with us. These are objective conditions.

The most important thing of all is not to spoil the image and the pride of our movement until the end.

Post-script:

Mordechai Tannenbaum, and many of the members of Kibbutz Tel-Chai in Bialystok, were killed in the ghetto uprising of August - September of 1943, in which nearly all the Jews of Bialystok were killed.

SPEAKERS IN THE ASEPHA:

Chaverim:

Mordechai Tannenbaum
Yitzhak Engelman
Hershel Rosenthal
Chanoch Jalaznagora
Chaim Rodner
Eliezer Sucharnitzki

Chaverot:

Sarah Kopinski
Fania Sich
Yocheved Weinstein
Dorka Tzarg
Zipporah Birman
Ethel Sobol

In the Likud Era

The Habonim-Dror Merger

For all its cherished independence in thought and action, Habonim always existed with a complex network of family and political associations. It had a "senior movement" in the American and Canadian Labor Zionist movements. It was part of a worldwide youth movement, Ichud Habonim, which in turn was linked to the kibbutz movement. Through the kibbutz movement it was affiliated with the Histadrut, Israel's federation of labor. And through its senior movements, it was indirectly connected to the Israel Labor Party.

Like the most up-to-date of modern families, Habonim's relatives rarely meddled in its daily affairs. The youth movement was free to adopt controversial foreign policy stands, as it did in the case of Vietnam, and even to reject the larger movement's settlement policies in the occupied territories.

Toward the end of the 1970s, though, a series of political earthquakes in Israel changed the landscape on which the North American youth movement built its independence.

Habonim's most immediate affiliation is to world Ichud Habonim and the kibbutz movement. It is from the kibbutz movement that Habonim receives its *shlichim*, and it is toward life on kibbutz that Habonim directs its young members, seeing communal settlement in Israel as the highest expression of the movement's ideals. Six kibbutzim in Israel—Kfar Blum, Ma'ayan Baruch, Gesher Haziv, Urim, Gezer, and Grofit—are living testimonies to Habonim's daily link with the kibbutz movement.

In the beginning, it was recalled, "the kibbutz movement" in Habonim's life was Hakibbutz Hame'uchad, the first large federation of kibbutzim, created in the 1920s. After the bitter kibbutz movement schism of 1950–51, Habonim's kibbutzim—and hence Habonim—went wholeheartedly with the new grouping, Ichud Hakvutzot Vehakibbutzim. The older Me'uchad movement attempted to preserve its presence within American Jewry through the creation of Dror.

Habonim and Dror coexisted on the American scene, more or less amicably, for three decades. To the outside world it often seemed strange that there should be four separate kibbutz-oriented youth organizations (including the left-wing Hashomer Hatzair and the Orthodox B'nei Akiva), none of them more than a tiny outpost in capitalist America. Movement

Builders and Dreamers

members, however, tended to be fiercely loyal to their own group and contemptuous of the others.

By the 1960s, the schisms began to seem more and more irrelevant even on the Israeli scene. The small Achdut Ha'avodah labor party that had split away from Mapai, taking the Me'uchad kibbutz movement with it, had long since lost any real *raison d'être*. In 1968 it merged back into Mapai, along with another splinter party called Rafi, to form one major labor party, known simply as the Israel Labor party.

And yet the kibbutz movements remained separate entities. For a full decade after the creation of the Israel Labor party, negotiations proceeded fruitlessly over a merger of Ichud and Me'uchad. Part of the difficulty was lingering bitterness over the split, twenty years earlier, that had rent so many farms, factories, communities, and even families into warring halves.

At the same time, much of the difficulty was truly ideological. The Ichud had evolved over the years into a liberal, antidogmatic movement. It gave its member-kibbutzim a great deal of leeway for experimentation, while the other kibbutz movements looked on disapprovingly. As a result, various Ichud kibbutzim had developed some individual habits that appeared to the more rigid Me'uchad movement as extreme deviations from kibbutz ideology. Many of those "deviations," it is worth noting, began in the kibbutzim of North American Habonim.

The most controversial of all Ichud innovations, for example, was *lnah mishpachit* or "family lodging," the practice of having children sleep in their parents' homes rather than in children's houses. Although it was taken for granted by the very first kibbutzniks of Degania, family lodging was eliminated in the early years of the kibbutz movement's evolution until it was raised as a principled demand, decades later, by the young Americans of Gezher Haziv. By the 1970s it had spread to a majority of Ichud kibbutzim, yet it was still virtually unknown in the Me'uchad.

There were other Ichud "deviations," too, that began as "American" quirks: maintenance of a synagogue on the kibbutz, for example, originally a concession to the personal needs of American kibbutzniks' parents who came to visit or retire on kibbutz. And then there was the Urim Experiment—sending the kibbutz's children to high school in a regional public high school, not an all-kibbutz school. This last was fiercely controversial even in the Ichud; in the Me'uchad, it would have been inconceivable.

Despite these differences in tradition and practice, overwhelming sentiment had built up in both movements by the mid-1970s that the reasons for separation had long since paled in comparison to the arguments for unity. The kibbutz movement as a whole, which in 1948 had been fully 10 percent of Israel's Jewish population with dreams of becoming the dominant way of life, was down to less than 3 percent and falling.

Hostility to the very idea of kibbutz was on the rise among many Israelis. The parties of the right, newly united into the Likud bloc, were growing rapidly in popularity and electoral strength. If and when they actually came to power in Israel, the kibbutz movement could be forced for the first time

In the Likud Era

to face a government whose economic programs, tax structures, and agricultural and credit policies might become weapons with which to bludgeon "Israel's noblest experiment."

Then, in 1977, the unthinkable happened. Menachem Begin, the charismatic leader of the anti-labor Herut party, became prime minister.

The Begin "earthquake," as the 1977 election was dubbed in the media, had deep roots. For decades, the Labor party had ruled Israel with what many people, even labor sympathizers, saw as a paternalistic arrogance. Then, too, with its ideological and cultural roots in the Jewish pale of Eastern Europe, Labor's leadership and symbols were alien to a growing mass of the Israeli working population that originated in North Africa and the Middle East.

For much of the Sephardic community, Begin was, as they chanted at rallies and marches, "king of Israel." Although he was born in Poland, Begin's nationalistic, biblically spiced rhetoric appealed to Sephardic mistrust of the Arabs and deep attachment to Jewish tradition. And so, where Ben-Gurion had once consigned Begin to the outer fringes of Israeli politics (Ben-Gurion often said he would form a coalition government with "anyone but Herut and the Communists"), Begin's mounting popularity during the course of the 1960s turned him from pariah to Leader of the Opposition. In the end, a series of major and minor political scandals shook up the leadership of the Labor party in 1974 and 1975, and in 1977, Menachem Begin stepped into the prime minister's office.

Begin's march to power was accompanied by a noisy, venomous drumbeat of hostility toward the labor movement. And no single sector of the movement faced more venom than the kibbutz. Begin saw the kibbutz as a ruling elite that had humiliated him and his Revisionist followers for decades, through its leadership of powerful institutions such as Mapai and the Histadrut.

Hostility toward the kibbutz ran even deeper among many of Begin's followers. Tens of thousands of Sephardim retained bitter memories of their first years in Israel during the mass immigration of the 1950s, when they were housed in rude tin-hut and tent camps and sent out for menial day labor—working, in many cases, for the well-fed and well-clothed "lords" of the kibbutz. That they could have joined the kibbutz and shared its relative "affluence" made not a dent in their resentment. The immigrants could not trade their patriarchal family structures for the futuristic equality of kibbutz. Instead, they sat in their tent-camps, and later in poorly built development towns, and watched with envy.

When Begin took power in 1977, among the first acts of his new Likud government were a series of tax changes, agricultural subsidy cuts, and credit reforms aimed directly at the kibbutz movement.

Back in the North America, Habonim was undergoing a slow, almost imperceptible decline, even without Begin's help. From a post-1948 high of

Builders and Dreamers

more than three thousand members on the eve of the Six-Day War, Habonim was down to about seventeen hundred members by the end of the 1970s.

In part, the movement was suffering from the overall decline of organized Zionism in the post-1948 era. For most Jews, Zionism had completed its primary task with the creation of the state. Its corollary task—motivating American Jews to uproot themselves physically and transplant to the Middle East—appeared more and more hopeless with each passing year as Jews successfully integrated and assimilated into North American life.

There was another process working against Habonim as well. The changing culture of urban America and the West was working to undermine every sort of organization based on collective participation. Four decades of television were eating away at Americans' ability to take action. The "idiot-box" was creating a youth—particularly in the urban middle class, where Jews were to be found—that expected quick stimulation with minimum effort. To be sure, television played a powerful role in mobilizing Americans to action in the civil rights and anti-Vietnam war movements. In the longer run, however, its impact was one of inertia. As the world flooded into Americans' living rooms with all its complicated and seemingly insoluble problems, the very idea of banding together to change society began to seem naive.

In any case, many American Jews were finding less and less reason to want to change society at all. American Jews were fully urbanized and college educated by 1975; within two generations they had risen from the ghetto to become by most statistics the most affluent ethnic or religious group in the United States. Habonim's revolutionary message to transform one's life seemed faintly ridiculous to most American Jews, and it was becoming difficult to make it heard at all.

Even the Habonim summer camp was becoming difficult to maintain. The Jews of North America were developing more refined tastes in recreation to go with their new position in life. Habonim was hard-pressed to compete with the wealth of camps that offered young people their choice of computers, tennis, and round-the-world cruises.

* * *

In 1975, Habonim and Dror began the slow process of merger. It would be a hesitant, painful process. The final merger came only in 1981 in the wake of the merger of the Ichud and Me'uchad kibbutz movements into a single United Kibbutz Movement.

At the outset, the movements looked for ways to cooperate in a limited way, to test their compatibility. Dror had bases in only two regions: in the New York area, and in Toronto and Ottawa in Eastern Canada. Since Habonim had been forced to close its camps in Ontario and Quebec over the past decade, and had little success redirecting its Montreal members to camp in New York, Canada seemed a natural place to start the experiment. In the summer of 1975, Dror's Camp Geshar in Ontario became a joint Habonim-

Dror project. Both movements' leaderships waited expectantly in New York for the results of the cooperative venture.

It went well—so well that merger was now placed on high priority. The next stage was the effective joining of the two movements' New York regions in the fall of 1977. At the time, Habonim was active in Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens, two locations on Long Island, and in Rochester, New York, and Lakewood, New Jersey. Dror had groups in Queens and Manhattan.

According to an interim report submitted to Habonim's central committee in November by Dan Sreebny, New York regional education coordinator, the merger added "a few chaverim" to Habonim's groups—ten or twenty came to the regional seminar at Thanksgiving—and a Dror shaliach was now available to work on organizing new groups in Westchester, Connecticut, and New Jersey. The movement also gained a Manhattan office, Sreebny wrote, and "since our *maadan* [meeting hall] was torn down last year, this is helpful."

On the down side, "the Dror chaverim are afraid of losing their identity and existence. They are therefore opposed to losing the symbols of their movement—name, slogans etc. There is also the conflict of movement positions on the occupied territories."

In December, the merger was brought for a vote to Habonim's national convention, where the case for merger was presented by the mazkir Habonim, Yudie Fishman of Los Angeles.

The Case for Merger with Dror: A Mazkir's Report

Yudie Fishman

New York 1977

We are faced at this *ve'idah* with a need to clarify the movement's policy towards Dror: Should we merge with Dror, our sister youth movement; should we decide not to merge, or should we postpone any discussion?

The first point to be made is that there is no justification for two movements with a common ideology to exist in a situation where they are isolated from each other at best, and where they are in competition with each other at worst. The key point here is common ideology. We should attempt to unite the two Labor Zionist youth movements in this country. We must decide if there is enough drawing us together to make it worthwhile to overcome the difficulties involved in merger.

Both movements educate toward *chalutzic* aliyah in garinim. Both movements are committed to a vision of a socialist Israel, based on the Jewish

labor movement. Both movements are affiliated with kibbutz movements. Our movement in Israel, Ichud Hakvutzot Vehakibbutzim, is currently involved in merger negotiations with the kibbutz movement of Dror, Hakibbutz Hame'uchad. There is no substantial difference in our respective analyses of kibbutz life. We can say that we have a consensus on these major areas of ideology.

Next, we must turn to the barriers to merger—those areas in which the two movements disagree or conflict. The first issue is that of autonomy. Habonim is affiliated with a kibbutz movement, but we are an autonomous body. We determine our policies through our own democratic institutions, by ourselves. We do not receive directives or orders from any party or movement in Israel or anywhere else. Dror, due to its difficulties in organizing in this country, has a much stronger relationship with its kibbutz movement. Hakibbutz Hame'uchad plays a central role in the directions that Dror takes. Again, as a result of difficulty in establishing a "native" leadership, Dror shlichim play a more direct role in the decision making process than do shlichim in Habonim. Though shlichim are just as important to Habonim as they are to Dror, their roles are different in the two movements.

The second group of issues that separate the two movements is under the heading of movement traditions and policies. This includes the area of programs, where Habonim emphasizes the Workshop, whereas Dror emphasizes its Summer in Israel program for tenth and eleventh graders. Songs, names of the *shchavot* (age-groups), emphasis on *tzofiti* (scoutcraft), and various terminologies—all these things are of a small nature, but very important to chaverim with a love for their movement and its traditions.

The last major area of disagreement is that Habonim does not support settlement in the occupied territories, and Dror does. The major *mifal* (settlement project) of Dror is Garin Yarden, which is planning to settle at Kibbutz El Rom on the Golan Heights. Behind the single issue of this particular garin lies the potential for other disagreements of a political nature.

In the areas of autonomy, decision making, the role of shlichim, traditions, the territories, and politics, the two movements have differences. To ignore these differences would be a serious error. However, we must attempt to overcome them, if we feel that to do so would benefit the movement. Being larger, adding four *kinim*, a new camp in Eastern Canada, new shlichim, new ideas, new faces, and new people are positive things that come with unity. Are they worth the effort of overcoming the difficulties and differences and perhaps compromising on some issues?

Merger is not an abstract concept; a merger is accomplished through negotiations based on policy. This *ve'idah*, if it chooses to proceed with the merger talks, must also adopt the conditions by which merger is acceptable. I feel that discussion of our conditions must focus on two issues that are central to us, and two issues where there is room for compromise. The first two issues are autonomy and decision making. We are autonomous, and we are youth leading youth. We cannot compromise on these issues. On issues of tradition, names of *shchavot*, and the like, we must be willing to compro-

In the Likud Era

mise. Rituals and symbols are important, but not worth blowing the merger over. The issue of Garin Yarden is a controversial one, but perhaps we can overcome it. After all, it is a garin of Dror, and would not have to be a mifal of the united movement. Though we must not compromise our political convictions, we should be flexible enough to allow Garin Yarden some support.

Let us try to remain sensitive to the needs and fears of the chaverim in Dror. They do not want to be swallowed, with their movement lost and their identity submerged. We must proceed carefully and with understanding.

* * *

The 1977 ve'idah of Habonim approved the merger. Dror's national secretariat had approved it a month earlier. Now the two movements established joint working committees to examine the mechanics.

Over the next two years, elaborate plans were developed to pave the way for the final merger. Timetables were set, showing which Dror chapters would be required at which point to participate in Habonim's K.M. Bet leadership training program, who would go to Workshop and the like.

By the time the final merger was ready to be implemented in 1980, however, much of the discussion had become moot. Dror's winterized camp serving the New York area, Ein Harod at Ellenville in the southern Catskills, had to be closed down. So did Habonim's camp in the northern Catskills, Camp Tel Ari at Hunter, which housed the national leadership training camp, Machaneh Bonim.

The numerical decline of the Labor Zionist youth movement in North America was continuing, and the combined forces of two youth movements could not stop it.

A Case for MERger

by Yudia Fishman

One of the more positive developments this year has been the cooperation between Habonim and Dror. We are faced at this V'ida with a need to clarify the movement's policy towards Dror: Should we merge with Dror, our sister youth movement, should we decide not to merge, or should we postpone any decision. I would like to present some of my opinions for discussion.

In outline form, these are the points I would like to make:

1. We should try our best to unite the 2 movements.
2. We must be aware of, & emphasize, these areas which we agree.
3. We must be aware of the difficulties, in particular:
 - a. the issue of autonomy
 - b. the issue of decision-making
 - c. traditions and programs
 - d. political policy
4. We should present conditions for merger which are sympathetic to the feelings of Dror Chaverim, but which do not compromise the issues of autonomy and/or decision-making.
5. We should pay close attention to what the NY and Montreal chevres have to say, and we should proceed towards the V'ida with caution.

The first to be made in this discussion is what we should attempt to unite the 2 Labor Zionist youth movements with a common ideology that exist in this country. There is no justification for two movements with a common ideology to exist in a situation where they are isolated from each other at best, and where they are in competition with each other at worst. The key point here is common ideology. We must decide if there is enough drawing us together to make it worthwhile to overcome the difficulties involved in merger.

Both movements educate towards chalutzic aliya in garinim. Both movements are committed to a vision of a socialist Israel, based on the Jewish Labor movement. Both movements are affiliated with kibbutz movements. Our movement in Israel, the Ichud Hakvutzot Vehakibbutzim is currently involved in merger negotiation with the kibbutzm movement of Dror, Hakibbutz HaMeuchad. There is no substantial difference in our respective analysis of kibbutz life. We can say that we just have a consensus on these major areas of ideology.

Next, we must turn to the barriers to merger--those areas in which the 2 movements disagree, or conflict. The first issue is that of autonomy. Habonim is affiliated with a kibbutz movement, but we are an autonomous body. We determine our policies through our own democratic institutions by ourselves. We do not receive directives or orders from any party or movement in Israel or anywhere else. Dror, due to its difficulties in organizing in this country has a much stronger relationship with its kibbutz movement. Hakibbutz HaMeuchad plays a central role in the directions that Dror takes. Again, as a result of difficulty in establishing "native" leadership Dror Shlichim play a more direct role in the decision-making process than do the shlichim in Habonim. Though shlichim are just as important to Habonim as they are to Dror, their roles are different in the two movements.

The second group of issues that separate the 2 movements is under the heading of movement traditions and policies. This includes the area of programs, where Habonim emphasizes the Workshop, whereas Dror emphasizes its Summer in Israel program for 10 & 11th graders. Songs, names of the shchavot, emphasis on tzofit and various terminologies--all these things are of a small nature, but very important to chaverim with a love for their movement and traditions.

The last major area of disagreement is that Habonim does not support settlement in Occupied Territories and Dror does. The major mifal of Dror is Garin Yarden, which is planning to settle at Kibbutz El Rom on the Golan Heights. Behind the single issue of this particular garin, lies the potential for other disagreements of a political nature.

In the areas of autonomy, decision-making, the role of shlichim traditions, the territories and politics the 2 movements have differences. To ignore these differences would be serious error. However, we must attempt to overcome them, if we feel that to do so would benefit the movement. On this point we have to ask ourselves whether being larger, adding 4 kinim, a new machaneh in Eastern Canada, new shlichim, new ideas, new faces and new people, are positive things that can come with unity. Are they worth the effort of overcoming the difficulties and differences and perhaps compromising on some issues?

Merger is not an abstract concept; a merger is accomplished through negotiation based on policy. This V'ida, if it chooses to proceed with merger talks, must also adopt the conditions by which merger is acceptable. I do feel that discussion on our conditions must focus on 2 issues which are central to us, and 2 issues where there is room for compromise. The first 2 issues are autonomy and decision making. We are autonomous, and we are youth leading group. youth. We cannot compromise on these issues. On issues of tradition names of schavat and the like, we must be willing to compromise. Rituals and symbols are important, but not worth blowing the merger over. The issues of Garin Yarden is a controversial one, but perhaps we can overcome it. After all, it is a garin of Dror, and would not have to be a mifal of the united movement. After all, though we must not not compromise our political convictions we should be flexible enough to allow Garin Yarden some support.

I would like to sum up with a word of caution to the V'ida. It is true that we are much larger and more viable a youth movement than Dror. However, opportunities for growth do not come along very often. It is desirable that we effect a merger, so let us work towards that goal. Secondly, let us listen carefully to what our chevre in NY and Montreal have to say to us, because they are the ones who will be directly involved in these decisions -- but for most of the chaverim in Habonim there is no risk involved in these decisions--the chevre in Montreal, this topic is crucial. Thirdly, let us try to remain sensitive to the needs and fears of the chaverim in Dror. They do not want to be swallowed, with their movement lost and their identity submerged. We must carefully proceed and with understanding.

DROR = Young Zionists Org. Inc.
215 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10003
(212) 777-9844

February 17, 1977

Schedule and Background Notes For The Maskrut

Artsit Meeting On February 26 - 27 At

GREETINGS AND SALUTATIONS!

Hello comrades. How have you all been doing?? And your krolka, well I hope. Good. Please note the title on this page and read all the material enclosed. For a long time now there has been talk about a merger between Dror and Habonim on a comprehensive scale, the time is here. During the past few weeks there have been serious and successful negotiations between the movements on steps to conclude a union between us. Following are points of contention towards the merger, with commentary.

ISK AND KMB

The Dror ISK (Leadership seminar on Kibbutz) and the Habonim KMB (Kvutza Madrichim Bet) are both programs designed to give 16 year olds exposure to Kibbutz and Israel in conjunction with a leadership course.

ISK - The Dror program's 45 days in Israel are spent thus:

Two weeks on kibbutz, three weeks attending the seminar which is held in the woods (I know there aren't woods in Israel, but let's keep it quiet) and 10 days touring; seeing the sites while sightseeing.

KMB - The Habonim program is a little lengthier than our own but is essentially the same. The important point is that Habonim has deliberately underplayed it's KMB in favor of it's Workshop which is a year program for highschool graduates.

Now thru negotiations and compromise it has been agreed that our two summer programs be combined. It has been proposed that the name of the program be changed to Seminar Hadracha In Kibbutz. Further it was proposed that the Dror and Habonim chaverim spend the kibbutz period on the Kibbutzim of their respective movements. What do you think of that? The joint effort will begin this summer.

GARINIM - (not the ones you eat, the other one

Dror is affiliated with the Kibbutz Meuchad movement in Israel, and Habonim with the Ichud movement. Both of these movements establish settlements in the occupied territories. The problem arises here in North America with a Habonim policy decision which prohibits Habonim from sponsoring garinim that wish to settle in the occupied territories.

Dror has no such policy and is at the present moment giving it's all to build and develop Garin Yarden Bet which has set it's aliyah sites on Kibbutz El Rom in the Golan Heights.

The problem here is obvious but difficult. How do we reconcile our differences on this item? That is to be decided at our meeting of minds, but one fact remains paramount - Garin Yarden Bet exists and is going to El Rom. That is settled! (Exclamation point for emphasis).

Another stumbling block is the way in which garinim are organized. We in Dror accept persons from outside the movement as garin members; and Habonim has a quarrel with this practice. Our most effective route in finding potential garin members is thru returning kibbutz volunteers. This method began with Garin Yarden Aleph and is a successful venture.

Habonim's MB Camp

Habonim's MB Camp is without parallel in Dror and might be hard to understand as it is for me.

MB stands for Machaneh Bonim and is held in New York every summer usually in it's own camp. This past summer it was held together with the Na'aleh camp. The MB is comprised only of persons who have finished 11 grade ingathered from all the Habonim snifim in North America. Got it? All these kids that have finished grade 11 from wherever they live are urged to attend the MB program. The educational benefits of this camp are highly praised by Habonim and are twofold:

1) The realization on a very personal level of the national quality the movement possesses and the good effect this has on the maturing chaver.

2) The development throughout the summer of a well educated and responsible madriach.

Now you may well wonder: how do they turn out these excellent candidates for madriachdom like so many slices of rye bread? That, my friend, is where my tongue becomes tied (no mean feat). From what I am able to understand all program planning and most decision making is in the hands of the chaniach. There is no enforcement of attendance at activities, the attitude is "You're a big boy now, act the part". But does it work? Habonim says yes and it would be unfair of me to make a judgement, I'm in the dark. Think about it.

Summer Camp '77

When I said that merger time was here I wasn't kidding around... we're having our camp in N.Y. together. Put here is some news that

isn't so upbeat: the joint camp will be held at the N.Y. Habonim camp. What can I say? It was a point that had to be conceded to: to continue with steps toward the merger. This is not a decision that is valid for next year as well, it may very well be changed, but for now it stands. We have already divided up staff positions between Habonim and ourselves. They are as follows: A) Rosh Machaneh - Habonim B) Merakez Machaneh - Dror - This position covers day to day problems that confront the madrichim but are not of sufficient seriousness to warrant maskirat deliberation. Is important because it provides an opportunity to have good relations with the "people" of the camp. C) Rosh Shichva - Four - Habonim The Rosh Shichva is an older and more experienced counsellor who is available to the madrichim of a shichva to assist in activities etc. The R.S. does not sleep with the group and is not a counsellor. D) Merakez Chinuch - In charge of education - Dror. E) Group counsellors - 50% each.

CAMP EITZ HAROD

The Camp will be used this summer by the aforementioned MB Camp. To be discussed will be whether there are any candidates from Dror for the MB.

Schedule

Saturday 26

Time

4:00 pm. First meeting - Report of Snifim

8:00 pm. Second meeting - Garin Yarden Bet - Up to date information and problems with respect to Habonim etc.

Sunday 27

Time

8:00 am. The Merger

Go home

Thank You
LOVE

M
Z
S
K COHEN

that? The joint effort will begin this summer.

GARINIM - (not the ones you eat, the other ones)

Dror is affiliated with the Kibbutz Meuchad movement in Israel, and Habonim with the Ichud movement. Both of these movements establish settlements in the occupied territories. The problem arises here in North America with a Habonim policy decision which prohibits Habonim from sponsoring garinim that wish to settle in the occupied territories.

MINUTES OF A JOINT MEETING OF

HABONIM and DROR (Parents, Leadership and Shlichim)

Held on Saturday, January 26, 1974 at Histadrut

Centre - Ottawa - 272 Laurier St., E.

Present were: - *Shirley & Shirley Harry*
Mr. & Mrs. S. Berman, Mr. Goldstein, I. Shalom,
Z. Kay, Micha Sagi, Gil Slonim, Riva, Bonnie,
Paula and Solomon.

Presiding - Gil Slonim.

The main topic on the agenda was the situation concerning Habonim and Dror in Ottawa. After discussing the situation, it was decided to deal with the possibility of having cooperation between the two youth movements - Habonim and Dror.

It was agreed that we start to operate as one Youth Movement which will combine the membership of both bodies (Habonim and Dror).

Gil agreed to the suggestion that the name be "Dror-Habonim".

The younger groups will meet in the same place as before, since they were already organized. The older group (15-17) will meet at the Histadrut building where Habonim have their office and their regular meetings.

It was agreed:-

1. The kids identify with their own original movement;
2. Dror will be responsible for the younger kids (concerning the financial situation);
3. Habonim will be responsible for the "Bonim Shichva" (concerning the financial situation);
4. The first priority for the summer programs will be participation in ISRAEL summer programs of the Kibbutz Aliya Desk and/or Habonim;
5. The kids will be asked to participate in "Camp Gesher";
6. Each child has the right to choose his own program - Israel, Camp Gesher or other Movement Camp;
7. We will try to strengthen the Movement in every way.
8. It was understood that we are talking of cooperation and working together while hoping that this agreement will be the first step towards the amalgamation of the two Youth Movements and also the Kibbutz Movement in Israel.

Dror-Hamachanot Ha'olim



Hamachanot Ha'olim was founded by a group of High school students looking for an ideal and rebelling against the middle-class careerist outlooks of their elders.

In those days Israeli-born youth were small in numbers and of little import-

ance. The country was full of new comers, bringing with them the stormy spirits of revolutionary Europe. They brought with them to Israel their ideas and their habits, their native songs and their speech. Local born youth watched with curiosity the chalutzim paving roads, living in huts and tents in the new settlements of the Emek and Galil, and forgetting their troubles in the wild rhythm of the hora, which they danced until the early hours of the morning. . . but no contact was made between them. Differences of upbringing, habit and language stood in the way.

42 Instead there was a detachment, suspicion and even derision. There existed a curious situation wherein chalutzim left their studies and renounced their parents' homes in order to be pioneers in Palestine, while Israeli-born youth thought only of furthering their studies abroad and living in town completely isolated from what was happening around them. The only hope for them was that the infrequent encounter with the chalutz, the "Tzabar" would be encouraged to put his shoulders to the common pioneering effort, thus bringing him closer to the emerging Eretz Israel, and to help strengthen the labour movement in difficult days..."*

* The Israel Youth Movement; A, Aderet (Niv Hakvutza, Dec. 1962)

Bet Ha'arava, Sdot Yam). Hamachanot Ha'olim was the first Israeli movement to call on its members to sacrifice their studies before graduation and to join garin groups to the Palmach.

During the Second World War the first of such garinim completed its training (which included agricultural instruction), and joined Kibbutz Bet Ha'arava, on the Dead Sea shores.

43 The movement carried on with its program as before - through the last days of the Mandate, the War of Independence and the establishment of The State. The following years put the movement on a firm footing; the ties with the world movement strengthened over the years, until it became clear that unification was possible.

At the World Conference of the Movement in 1958, held at Kibbutz Lochemei Hageta'ot, the movement adopted the name of Dror-Hamachanot Ha'olim.

The movement today has snifim (known in the Israeli movement as Machanot) in every town in Israel. Dror-Hamachanot Ha'olim, with its clearly defined educational program, has, since the unification within Dror Olamit, been an example to our Movement in the Golah. It has shown the



Student and Chalutz were finally brought together by the following events: the foundation of the Histadrut in 1921, the stopping of Aliyah in 1923, and the joining of a group of local youngsters with the chalutz-founders of the first kibbutz of the Russian Hashomer Hatzair movements (today Kibbutz Afikim).

The first groups among students, were formed in the 30's by members of the Herzaleya High School of Tel-Aviv and by a group of Jerusalem scouts. They called themselves "Hamachanot Ha'Olim"-literally "The Camps of Ascenders" or "Immigrants" (each snif is called by them a machaneh or "new immigrant camp"; and so every chaver, even from the movement in Israel is considered an "oleh" when he arrives at the Kibbutz).

These first members met for social activities after school hours and spent their vacations working on settlements. The government soon developed the unique character of a student movement. It declared itself at the disposal of the Yishuv and thirsted for a thorough knowledge of the country. The tiyulim of Hamachanot Ha'olim are until this day known for their stigma and daring: they have reached places never before visited - they were the first to walk the whole way around the Dead Sea, and the first to climb Massada. Upon graduation, these first groups participated in the establishment of several kibbutzim (e.g. Maoz Chaim,

Movement what it should be, built on sh'chavot of all ages, forming garinim and hachsharot, serving in Nachal and finally joining or establishing Kibbutzim.

DROR OLAMIT

In 1948 the two European movements-Dror-Hechalutz Hatzair and Hanoar Haborochovi, in Poland, France, Belgium, etc. united into one, and were joined a year later by the movements in North and South America. However, for some years after that, the movements still continued to be known by the designation of their development and history.

To mark the occasion, a new semel (badge) was adopted by the whole Movement, consisting of the Magen David, symbol of Israel and the Jewish people, under two ears of wheat, representative of youth and agriculture, and reminiscent of the badge of the Palmach. The slogan "Aloh Na'leh



is inscribed on the Magen David as a reminder of the Movement's ultimate aim of "Hagshama"- "Fulfillment" of a pioneering life, and the whole badge is set on a red background.

On the same occasion a new "chultza" (movement shirt) was also adopted - blue, buttoning half way down the front and with a pocket on either side.

Chapter III

Fundamentals of our Ideology

Jewish Nationalism

What future is there for a Jew, as such, outside of Israel?

He can continue as his father or grandfather did by being the religious, pious Jew - closing himself off from the rest of the world, conserving his 'Jewishness', his religion, his "difference" in a closed vacuum; and everything will continue for another 2000 years in the same way.

Or we can reject this way of life.

"In the modern society one can't live like that. They suffered because they were like that, but we must live with the times." What does this mean? We become good Americans British, or French citizens. Our parents go to synagogue twice a year, at Rosh Hashana and at Yom Kippur; They don't know why. They had the impression when they were young that these were the most important holidays,



(10)

from anything Jewish. So the Jewishness will die within us. No future for us as Jews in the Golah. But one day perhaps something or someone will remind us (or our children.).

We must ask ourselves again. Do we wish to remain Jews? If so, what future is there for a Jew outside of Israel?

Twenty years have passed since the end of World War II. Has the lesson of tragedy been lost for us? Six million Jews were massacred, tortured, burnt, shot. Yet, despite



this, thousands of Jews have returned to live as peacefully as before, as if nothing has ever happened and it has all been a nightmare. Yet when we speak to them of that time of persecution, tell them that we cannot tell what tomorrow will bring and even show them signs of latent anti-semitism in their own country, they need only read their own newspapers to see the truth of this, they become embarrassed and cannot answer, or reject the whole thing as the works of an individual or a few madmen. But what was Hitler?

and because of the pressure of work and social conditions they have had to discard all the others. Maybe there are slight variations - that they keep kabshrut at home but in restaurants they eat anything; they go to see the 'Succah' at Succot, and at Chanukah they give presents, light candles and have a "Jewish Christmas" (some families even have a tree with a Magen David at the top -- you know, to keep up tradition!).

But we, their children have rejected (if not us, then our children will) even this. It has no meaning for us. It is pointless. The silver thread that kept the generations before us going on devotion and piety, has been broken. "I want to be like everyone else at school or college. Why take off days here or there for something that only makes me different? And how I despise those Jews who you can see are Jews 10 miles away. They act like Jews, they swagger around, speak in a Jewish accent--of money and business."

And so we reject everything Jewish that is left behind even though it has been changed according to conditions. We regret. We try to forget that we are Jews; maybe we will succeed. The next stage is to marry a non-Jew. We run away

(11)

An unsuitable political crisis is enough to spark off unrest against the "multimillionaires" and the "rich Jews" at any place.

May we ignore the evidence? One must admire the efforts of these people to change the subject and pass that memory into oblivion. But may we be permitted to forget such a thing? And even if we ourselves are not actually in danger, have we the right to forget the thousands of Jews whose lives are threatened daily?

We the youth must know what has happened in the past, and be aware of the constant possibility of recurrence. We must know no peace until the last Jew is uneasy in his life in the Golah. Yes, we must think hard--whether we wish Jews, as Jews, to continue. If we do, we must realize that there can be no future for the Jews in the Diaspora. Is there so much difference between Persecution and Assimilation? Against which one will the Jews stand better?

We know all too well the weakness of the older generations of the countries in which we live; we should be mindful of our double task. As youth we must warn people and be willing to reconstruct our nation.

But let us make it clear.
We are not merely Jews
because no one will
accept us (although

it must be admitted that this has played an important part in holding our nation together over 2000 years of dispersion), but are Jews for positive reasons; because of the love of our people, because of its character, its traditions and its culture. Through the fulfillment of our ideas we will help develop ourselves into a normal nation.

We have succeeded in converting that insult of "Jew", thrown at us over the centuries, into a term of honour. The stature of all the Jews in the world has been raised by the creation of the State of Israel and her achievements. Fifty years ago our religion was the main binding force for the different groups of Jews all over the world; but since that time great changes have taken place. A large part of American and European Jewry no longer believes. The religion of the Jews of the U.S.S.R. is "restricted." Orthodoxy died with those religious Jews who were massacred in the last World War, and who represented over half of European Jewry. The religion that formerly bound the Jewish people together is no longer enough. There exists today however, more favourable conditions for Jewish nationalism than even then. Jews in the most unlikely places now share a common interest:



The existence of the Jewish State has become the focal point of World Jewry.

We must remember above all that our nationalism depends on the present and upon a translation of past conditions. On the contrary, our nationalism is intended to insure the future survival of our people. Neither the ghetto nor the "Jewish Suburb" represents modern Jewry for us; what matters is the thirteen million Jews scattered all over the world, who may mold together one country, our country.

We do not envisage as our ultimate the present State of Israel, with its nearly three million inhabitants. This can only be the nucleus of what is to come, the means of ensuring the arrival of every Jew to our shores. One day we shall form a complete and normal nation, living independently and freely in our own land.

Our nationalism does not mean that we wish to isolate ourselves from the rest of the world; we feel as good Jews that if we could serve the world as a people, our services would be of far greater value than they can be in our present state as individuals.

We would thus, by serving our own people, be serving humanity as a whole. Can an Englishman be a good Englishman without first being a good member of his own town or village? Likewise can we be good citizens of the world without first being good Jews?

Ber Borochov, in his writings, showed that the national question exists for all social classes, and that the abnormal economic structure of the Jews in the Golan can only be resolved by the concentration of Jews into one territory. These theories form the fundamental ideal of our Movement. They are the proof of the vitality of our national conception.

Chalutzim

Chalutzim, or pioneering spirit, is not peculiar to the Zionist Movement alone. Many are the nations who have had their pioneers. What if not pioneers were the Boers who pushed back the African jungle, and the Americans who settled in the Far West? Why is it then, that the Jewish Chalutz Movement hold such an important place within our People? Without doubt it is only because of the special disposition of the Jewish people that the Jewish youth have accomplished such remarkable achievements.



Only the youth can bring our nation out of its plight. Only the youth can bring our nation back into a normal one, containing workers, agriculturists and builders, one that can live on its own merits and not on the labours of other peoples.

This is a superhuman task, to re-educate a people who for hundreds

of years in the Golan has known no other life. Yes, only the youth can hope to accomplish such a project. It was no large body of youth, but mere hundreds, willing and eager to start a new life, to rejuvenate a whole nation, who succeeded in draining the swamps, building the roads, making themselves into farmers and founding kibbutzim. It is for additional youth, the next generation, to carry on with this work. Today we need chalutzim in the empty Galil and Golan, and in the open Negev and the Sinai regions. We need Chalutzim to strengthen weak kibbutzim, to establish industries and to build factories.



Israel will always be in need of its chalutzim. When the number of new immigrants fleeing from oppression rises, so must the number of individuals who know exactly why they have come to Israel, why they wish to join the kibbutz, and why they choose to work the soil or build a factory or sit on the border.

Every family of farmers makes it possible for another four families of olim to live in the country. If we want Israel to be able to receive the many Jews who are still to come, an immense pioneering effort must be tackled, a pioneering effort

which needs thousands of young arms in the most difficult places.

To be a chalutz is always to be ready; to be at the disposition of the Jewish people for the most strenuous of tasks; to be a pioneer of settlement, to live a life of equality and to build all within the kibbutzim and for the kibbutz. Besides preparing yourself with a profession or the learning of a skill (agriculture or otherwise), one must prepare the mind. One must be prepared to think at all times. And above all we must prepare ourselves to be strong and brave of heart. The arms will be ready for anything as long as we are ideologically and spiritually resolved.

The chalutzic spirit is not only one for the individual. It means equally a group feeling. Chalutzit in the end must mean a united effort a gigantic endeavor which can only be attempted in unison.

The crowning glory of the chalutz is the kibbutz and the moshav. The chalutzic life leads to the kibbutz, to a condition where the individual never loses sight of the goal, never loses his dynamic force and is always ready to better himself.

JEWISH SELF DEFENSE

The beginning of settlement was coupled with the creation of a Jewish defense movement - "Hashomer";



later followed by the "Hagana." What would have become of our endeavors, had we not defied the arms of the Turks, and even the British? Slowly we are dispelling the legendary myth of the weakness and cowardice of the Jewish people. The courageous deeds of the heroes of modern Jewish history are taking their place beside those of any nation. And right through all this the Movements have occupied one of the central positions in Jewish self defence. It was they who were the founders of "Hashomer" and the organizer of Jewish self defence in Palestine; similarly it was the members of the kibbutzim who formed the backbone of the Hagana and comprised the great majority of the members of the Palmach (shock Troops).

It was the Palmach who provided the bulwarks of the opposition to the advances of the Arab armies in 1948, and it is they who today defend Israel's borders against infiltrators and attack.

But let us not conclude from this that Jewish life is only defensible on our own soil (although it is easier!) We cannot agree with this conception. The chalutzim of the Polish ghettos, many of whom were members of Dror, have shown us that this is not the case. They were certainly ready and



capable of defending their lives when the odds were against them.



Jewish life must be defended wherever and whenever it is threatened. The truth is distasteful, but must be admitted; millions of Jews went to the gas ovens in the last world war, without lifting a finger in an attempt to defend themselves; Many of them claimed

that they would be "endangering their lives in taking up arms." Yet is it among those who did fight that we can find the highest numbers of survivors.

However, we must stress that it is essential to draw distinction between defense and militarism. Weapons are not an end in themselves; they can only be at times a means to an end.

There is a glaring difference between the discipline of self-defense and blind military subservience. The need to defend ourselves does not necessarily involve the inculcation of a feeling of aggression towards others. We must combat any feeling of hatred of whatever kind.

In the movement any tendency towards this sort of attitude, towards aggression and hatred must be crushed.

Let the will to do something against someone, if not in defense, be lost in manual labour, in developing the body, in sport and in rambles; this the healthiest way for both mind and body to lose such thoughts.

EQUALITY

History has shown that only youth is capable of realizing socialism.

The older generation is generally too attached to its customs, traditions and egoistic interests.

Socialism is not only a humanist theory and an ideal. It is principally a progressive

doctrine endeavoring to change an existing situation.

It is the working class that will be motivated force in that new society, a society in which everyone will have to work for a living, but in which everyone will live a life of security and means.

Socialism believes in man and his power to do. Our socialism is humanitarian; it believes as did Erasmus that: "Nothing human can be extraneous to us." It preaches for the unity of nations and their collection for the advancement of humanity.



How are we to reach this ideal of ours? We must build the bases of our new society cell by cell. By a voluntary desire by each and every member of our society for equality.

In the Movement we must take the first steps to that equality and co-operation we wish to achieve in the kibbutz. A "kupa", at least for Bogrims, must be second nature to us; co-operation in every endeavor and activity; equality for every member while in the Movements' framework.

OPEN TO ALL

Our kibbutz and youth movement have always held their doors wide open to all. No selection of members has ever been imposed, as was the case with other Zionsist Youth Movements.

In North America and Great Britain, a solution must be found to contemporary Jewish youth's search for "something new".

Our movement has not only adapted itself to the different strata of which it is composed, but even to individual characters. Our aim is not to make every one of our members conform to one set pattern, but on the contrary, to develop in each one of his own particular qualities. This then demands a varied educational programme



adaptable according to country, culture and the individual interests to each chaver. In this way we can hope to develop our political knowledge as well as appreciate culture. A group so organized can spend time on the art, and say, music, without neglecting outings into the country, doing sport and developing the body.

Our aim is for chaverim to be familiar with all the fields of life, however, stress on certain aspects will be dependent on local and personal conditions.

Wherever the Movement exists it must reach the maximum number of Jewish youth.

THE MOVEMENT AND THE KIBBUTZ

Kibbutz HaMeuchad is the natural conclusion to our movement education. At some point the chaver is faced with the "big decision," of fulfilling the goal of the Movement. He has come to the stage when talk is no longer sufficient, and now action must be taken. He has put into effect all those ideas which he accepted as a Movement member. The Kibbutz is the source of all his aspirations—it is the synthesis of what he has wanted.

The kibbutz is the most appropriate and necessary unit there is for both chaver and country. In the

Kibbutz our chaver can live a Jewish Life amongst fellow Jews. In it he will be participating in the creation of Jewish materialism of a new kind. Kibbutzim are the back-bone of Israel, without which the State would not have been born or have the strength to continue.

The kibbutz is the bulwark of the State of Israel. At the time of the Mandate Kibbutzim were the basis for the Hagana and the Palmach, and the Kibbutz members were the most active of its soldiers. During the War of Independence kibbutzim were the fortresses against which the armies of the enemies hurled themselves, and which resisted with success the enemies attacks and finally turned back that same enemy who had boasted of so easy a victory.

Even today, as is well known, the kibbutzim are playing an essential role in the defense of the State by remaining in those strategic positions and creating new settlements where needed.

The kibbutz is the avant-garde group of the Zionist Movement. It is settling the Negev & Sinai, and the Galil & Golan, and steadily pushing back the desert. Look at the map



of Israel; you will find the borders lined, nearly exclusively with the kibbutzim of Hakibbutz HaMeuchad, from Misgav Am in the North, to Eilat in the very South. Private settlements searches for the easy way, for the way that shows an immediate profit, for a region which is as near as possible to its market that is in town. But the kibbutz sees as its duty the cultivation of new regions with no regard to economic hardships.

The kibbutz is the nucleus of a new society. It is based on the principle of complete equality of its members, and on collective property of the means of production and consumption. No other voluntary social group in the world has realised and put these principles into practise with such success.

The strength of the kibbutz is also an important moral factor in the struggle for the rights of every worker in the country, and a forceful and essential element in the struggle for a Labour Movement in Israel.



Lastly, Kibbutz HaMeuchad is a Movement which like our youth Movement, is open to all; it accepts and gleans members from every country of origin, of no matter what philosophical

(24)
outlook, and makes no limit to the size of its kibbutzim.

We have shown you just a rough outline of the ideology of Kibbutz Hame'uchad in the above, but it should be sufficient for you to see in it the duplication and complete identification of our Movement with HaKibbutz Hame'uchad.

OUR MOVEMENT

Preamble of the Constitution of DROR - NORTH AMERICA, May 25, 1976.

Dror Young Zionist Organization is affiliated with the political party Mifleget Avodah in Israel and the Labor Zionist Alliance in North America. Dror is the Youth Movement of Kibbutz Hame'uchad.

As an activist youth movement DROR ideals are as follows:

- 1) As Labor Zionists we believe that socialism provides the best vehicle for creating politically, socially and economically just and free state in Israel.
- 2) The education of its' members in the appreciation of the Hebrew language and culture, and of Jewish history and traditions building an active Jewish consciousness in the Diaspora.
- 3) That Jewish activity in North America should promote Chalutzic Aliyah to kibbutz in which the individual can be free from exploitation and realize full

human potential.

- 4) To strengthen the bonds between Jewish youth throughout the world.
- 5) To broaden understanding on the part of its' members concerning Jewish affairs in Israel and the Diaspora.
- 6) To help members realize their capabilities and to develop a feeling of responsibility for the chaverim in the movement.
- 7) The defense of Jewish rights everywhere.
- 8) To follow in the Jewish humanitarian tradition on behalf of people in need wherever they may be.
- 9) To express concretely our chalutzic ideals we take initiative in the establishment of garinim in Israel.

We dedicate ourselves to the up-building of the State of Israel through the kibbutzim and to the education of Jews in North America of the centrality of Israel both historically and spiritually in Judaism.



"If I am not for myself, then who is for me? And if I am only for myself, what am I? And if not now, when? —Hillel, The Sage

If I could sum up the thoughts I have about the moetzta that was just held, I would have to use the words of Hillel. All one has to do is to take these words and put them into the mouth of something we shall call Dror, and what have you got? Moetzet Dror 1971!

Without going into any great detail, I feel I should explain, by way of introduction, the reasoning behind the moetzta.

When we decided to call a moetzta, and what topics to take up, we felt that the time was ripe for all of us to ask ourselves Hillel's questions, and to do something about it. The past year has been a year of changing winds in Dror: N.Y. changed structurally by giving up its neighborhood moedonim and introducing new programs—and these structural changes reflected, I think, a change in atmosphere. In Montreal, we pulled out of the old moedon, changed many things and got rid of some people, and opened in Chomedey. In Toronto, there was a change of shlichim, a move into the Bialik school, and a good potential for building the movement.

Besides Hillel's questions, there was one more question which symbolized the moetzta. And that was the famous "Who is a movement member?", that we've been hearing for so long. We thought that it was more to the point to ask—and answer—ourselves: What is the movement?

These were the reasons for calling the moetzta at this time.

The time was right—because of the changes in the tnua and the increase in numbers, especially new people, that we had over the past 2 years—to get the tnua back on the right track. Which is: the track of of hachshara, garin, and aliya. A track that we lost somewhere back in the tangle of the 60's. To do that, we had to establish certain policies, to call on the chaverim to do certain things—to make a commitment. To answer Hillel's questions and say: Yes, we are for Dror, because we are the chaverim of

Dror. No, we are not just for our own purposes, but for the good of our group, of our tnuva, and yes, for the good of the Jewish people. Yes, now is the time.

Finally, we must make a commitment, because without it, we are not a movement. Look around and see that this must be so. There are 2 types of young people in America (and Canada) today. There is the first type that says: Do your own thing, and I'll do mine. Dror cannot exist as a "do your own thing" organization. Because then we can't ask our chaverim to do anything. "If they want to, they will. If they want to plan a Winter Camp, they will. If they want to go on a meaningful hachshara, they will. If they want to form a Garin, they will. If they don't they won't and we have no right to tell them what to do." This is not a movement—such a group has no real aim or purpose. Or if it does dare to generally define itself with a goal, then it lacks the mechanism to carry it out. After all—let people do what they want, and find out for themselves. I believe this has been a major problem of Dror in the past couple of years. We have been afraid to ask people for a commitment.

On the other hand, any movement—political, religious, etc.—no matter how small becomes an effective movement when it has the guts to stand up and say: This is what I am, this is what I'm here for, and if you want to be with us, then MAKE YOUR COMMITMENT to our cause. Commit your time and your thoughts, the energy it takes to find out, and the willingness to work. This is how any effective movement operates. You lose some people, but you gain others, and from the committed you can get results—whether it be in terms of aliya or revolution or anything else.

By defining the movement in terms of its goals and purposes, the mostza has succeeded in defining a movement member in terms of the commitment he is asked to make to the movement and what it stands for.

On the day that our words up at camp are turned to realities, I will be very proud of Dror, and happy that I had the chance to be a part of it. On the day that chavrei Dror COMMIT themselves to "Aloh Na'aleh" because it means something to them, all the arguments and effort will be justified.

(v'hameivin yavin)

Eli Lederhandler

COMMITMENT
SILENCE
KILLS!

ALOH
NA'ALEH

אלה
נא'לה

Part III: Decisions of the Moetza

- 1) Smolim: A movement member, of chotrim age and above, who has completed 2 summer camps and one year's involvement in the movement (or 1 camp and 2 years in the movement) is eligible to receive a semel tnua, depending on his attitudes and feelings toward the tnua. This will be determined through informal talks of this chaver with members of the mazkirut during a period of 6 months before the giving of the semel.
- 2) The asefa (assembly) of semel holders elects the mazkirut—therefore, the mazkirut is responsible to it. If $\frac{1}{4}$ of the semel holders disagree with a decision of the mazkirut, they have the right to request an asefa. The mazkirut must call the asefa within 2 weeks of this request. To take a vote, a quorum of $\frac{2}{3}$ of the asefa must be present. (The asefa consists of semel holders in the vicinity of the movement). A majority decision of the asefa overrules the decision of the mazkirut. Phone-in votes are not acceptable. Even if $\frac{1}{4}$ of the asefa cannot be raised to request an asefa, chaverim who disagree with the decision of the mazkirut have the right to an explanation of the reasons behind the decision by the mazkirut. If enough chaverim call in at least 3 days prior to the set date of the asefa and let the mazkirut know that they can't make it—to that it is evident that a quorum will not be present and the originally scheduled meeting will be postponed within 2 weeks from that date.
- 3) The agenda of the coming mazkirut meeting should be publicized in the Igeret prior to that meeting, if possible (where quick decisions have to be made, this is not always possible). One member of the mazkirut should be designated as secretary, and the minutes of the meeting should be in the immediately following Igeret. Any movement member who has a problem or a point to bring up to the mazkirut, may do so at any meeting of the mazkirut.
- 4) As a general policy: No drug usage will be allowed at any movement activities; the usage of drugs will be discouraged by the tnua. The methods and practicalities of "discouragement" will be taken up in the first possible mazkirut meeting in each snif.

- 5) No drinking will be allowed in movement activities unless authorized by the mazkirut or the va'adat tarbut. During the summer—if drinking is done outside camp, you must "come back the way you left." Individual problem cases will be dealt with by the mazkirut.
- 6) Each shichva, when it reaches Meginim age (17 and up), should form a Garin and set a date for hachshara. Hachshara will be considered a stay on kibbutz of at least 6 months, and will be the movement's priority program in Israel. As such, it will receive the encouragement and support of the tnua. Although any visit to Israel will be encouraged, the hachshera program, as the top priority, will receive the most support and encouragement.

It is suggested that the group going on hachshara should spend the summer prior to it together.

Individual problems concerning the length of the stay in Israel should be taken up with the mazkirut of the Garin, and through it, with the mazkirut of the tnua.

A new Garin has been formed from the Meginim group of the North American Snifim. Members of the Garin will go on Hachshara during the year 1972-73, with some of them staying on as olim. An organizational meeting of the Garin will be held in the near future.

Dror Meetsa North America
August 17-20 1976 Camp Ein Harod

Resolutions

1- That ~~Dror~~ be instituted as a policy of the movement.

Reasons: Dror is a youth movement that should be staffed and organized by young people. This running of the movement should not stop at just preparing programs and the like but also to funding those programs. This action would increase the feeling of participation and self-sufficiency among the chaverim.

2- That ^{total} ~~Dror~~ shall remain as a part of the summer camp movement policy. ^{be instituted.}

Reasons: One of the objectives of Dror is to educate towards kibbutz life. One of the aspects of kibbutz that make it unique is the distribution of monies. Therefore kupa should be practiced as an invaluable tool of education on kibbutz.

3- That Dror shall give support and direction of its fullest capacity to Garin Yarden ~~Det.~~

Reasons: Whereas Dror advocates aliya to Kibbutz Haemuchad; and whereas this is the Garin's objective it is imperative that we support this Garin to manifest our ideals in reality.

4- To change the name from Young Zionist Organization to Zionist Youth Movement.

Reasons: That the word organization implies a group that is static in both leadership and membership. And that Dror's leadership and membership by its very nature is designed to

be

be in flux; that the title be changed to Zionist Youth Movement.

5- Chaver Tnuva must be at least Mordim age.

Reasons: Whereas a semel means you are a Chaver Tnuva (movement member); and that to be a member one must understand what the movement stands for in all its aspects; and that it is agreed that this takes a fair amount of maturity; be it resolved that eligibility begin at Mordim age for receiving smolim.

6- That the matter of joining with Habonim be pursued and investigated.

Reasons: As Dror and Habonim's basic goals are the same; and whereas it is felt that the union of the two would yield a more efficiently run movement, it is proposed that investigation be started to delve into the matter.

7- That ^{starting} ~~this~~ coming year for Dror North America, ~~shall be a~~ ~~Zionist~~ ~~year~~. ~~That~~ education will be stressed on such topics as "The Refugee Problem," "Historical Rights to Israel," "Israeli Arabs," etc.

Reasons: Over the past year there has been a veritable deluge of anti-zionist proclamations flowing from the U.N. and Arab gov'ts. That falsehoods will be believed if they are repeated often enough is an historical fact. Therefore let us counteract this propaganda with education that has its basis in historical truth.

RESOLUTIONS AND DISCUSSION FROM MOETZET DROR ENGLAND 1976

In view of the present-day situation of Diasporan Jewry i.e. assimilation, acculturation, inter-marriage, etc., this Moetza believes that there is no future for the Jewish People outside Israel.

Amended to:-

In view of the Present-day situation of Diasporan Jewry, e.g. assimilation, acculturation, inter-marriage, anti-semitism, this Moetza believes that there is no future for the Jewish People outside Israel.

Discussion

- As Israel is the Centre for Jews, we, as Jews can only fight assimilation in Israel, therefore more help is needed in Israel to ensure the creation of our state;
- This resolution implies that we cannot live as Jews outside Israel.
- A future could be seen in the US Jewish community which is a very strong community.
- It is known that assimilation etc. are rife in the Jewish communities of Brooklyn, etc. There can be no future as the minority decreases continually.
- Any future is in Israel.
- There is a need to ammend this resolution to 'There is no future for non-religious Jewish life outside Israel.' The religious Jews are waiting the Messiah as they have done for 2,000 years in all parts of the World. The word 'life' should be used as apposed to 'people' because we cannot judge how Jewish is a Jew i.e. who is a Jewish person?
- The present-day situation does not only include acculturation (assuming a majority culture) but also a rise in anti-semitism: NF and B/9 British parties are all right-wing and anti-semitic to degrees. Even now in Argentina a holocaust could occur exactly the same as what happened in Germany in 1939. When discussing 'Rights to Eretz Yisrael', our right is that the destruction of Israel would constitute a death-blow to the Jewish people.
- In reference to the ammendment outlined above, the religious sections of the community are becoming so extreme as to be anti-zionist. Until the enlightenment, ghettos existed where religion was the centre of one's life, now there is no way to bring up a child untouched by the outside.

(Ammendment defeated)

- No future refers to those Jews who have not already assimilated.
- Present-day situation is understood to include the concept that Jews are under the threat of assimilation, etc.
- There is a need to include 'anti-semitism' in the resolution.
- No future is too strong. There is a possibility that people can resist the threats.
- The threat is here already working.

- 4) This Moetza believes that attacks on Zionism constitute an attack on the Jewish People and as such are a disguise for anti-semitism.

Amendment defeated.

This Moetza believes that attacks on Zionism by non-Jews in effect constitute a disguise but nevertheless a dangerous form of anti-semitism.

Discussion

- Anti-semitism is hidden as such. Nowadays the realisation of how widespread anti-semitism is can be seen when Zionism is attacked.
- Religious Jews are anti-zionists.
- All Jews are Zionists because it is the National Liberation Movement of the Jews.
- The problem is not within the Jewish People - anti-semitism is everywhere in differing forms. If anti-zionism had been apparent in the days of the Holocaust the attacks would be against Jews.
- The word anti-semites needs to be changed because Arabs are also semites.
- It is obvious that anyone who attacks Zionism also attacks Jews.
- Also if Jews don't go to Israel then anti-zionist don't want them anywhere else.
- This resolution refers to resolution 2., which points out that the attacks are by non-Jews. As Zionism is the national liberation movement of the Jewish People it is impossible to separate Zionism and Judaism.

BOGRIM/ HADRACHA/ CHINUCH/ BOGREI MACHON

- 1) This Moetza notes with pleasure the formation of two garinei aliya this year - Carin Tikva and Carin Kivun, and pledges to encourage future chaverim to follow their example.

Resolution passed.

- 2) This Moetza endorses the principle of at least one year in Israel as a pre-requisite for working in the movement over the age of eighteen.

Resolution passed.

Discussion

- A year in Israel will help people decide how committed they really are before they start educating others. Also there is a certain amount of education to be gained from a year abroad in Israel and certainly from the Machon.

- 3) This Moetza believes that wherever possible movement workers should be encouraged to continue their higher education in Israel, not in England, unless needed by the movement.

Resolution passed.

Discussion

- The ideal situation would be for people to work two years full time in the movement then go on aliya and study in Israel.

- 4) This Moetza encourages future bogrei machon to live in community with a cupah meshutephet.

Resolution passed.

- 5) This Moetza believes that no chaver/s should be sent to the Machon unless he/she gives an undertaking to work in the movement for two years in a DROR area. This Moetza would like to take this opportunity of condemning outright these chaverim who returned from the Machon in 1976 who did not express any desire to work in the movement.

Resolution passed.

Discussion

- The main reason that the number of people going on Machon and not working in the movement is increasing, is one of education. We must be careful not to allow this to happen again by explaining to people very carefully exactly what it means and we must choose people more carefully.
- The attitude that if you send someone who is unsure that 'things will click' once he/she is in Israel is wrong.

- 6) We note with pleasure the success of the various chugim (Ivrit, rikkudim, hadracha, drama/open bayit) and calls for more involvement on the part of chevrei t'nua in these activities.

Resolution passed.

- 5) Our movement will actively support the struggle of any group, organisation political party, faction, etc. of any country which earnestly desires the full national and cultural rights of our people and their prerogative for aliya, providing that the ideology of these groups is in keeping with the basic ideals of DROR, and that the decision to support these groups is made on the individual merits of the organisation concerned at the specific time.

Resolution passed.

Discussion

- What happens if there is a group of people who are striving for something that we believe strongly in, but does not agree with the ideals of DROR? Surely if anyone feels strongly about something they should state it.
- Even if the people they are giving support for would not support their own cause?
- The resolution does state '.....made on the individual merits of the organisation concerned.'

- 4) Whilst reaffirming our affiliation to Poale Zion as our parent organisation in England, this Moetza finds the current situation in the party abhorrent. We find that the leadership of the party is politically bankrupt and the individuals involved in Poale Zion today paying mere lip service to the principles of Labour-Zionism. We therefore urge the youth (DROR, Habonim and Y.P.Z.) to play a far more active role in the party with the aim of restablising it to a dynamic and active movement, and restoring it to its rightful position as the leading force in Anglo Zionism. To this end we recommend the youth assume as far as possible the responsibility for the forthcoming elections to the Zionist Congress and that the delegation from the Poale Zion party should include no less than 75% youth delegates.

Resolution passed.

Discussion

- We are affiliated to Kibbutz Hame'uchad which is not a political party. However we are affiliated to a labour faction in the coalition labour party of Israel, together with Y.P.Z. and Habonim, which is Poale Zion (Workers of Zion). Up until 5 years ago the Zionist youth movements were dominated by Poale Zion. The last few years have seen the rise of Herut (and its youth movement Betar) and the crumbling of Poale Zion's power until now there is almost no youth active in the party. We have an obligation to them because they do supply us with certain necessary funds.
- The situation has come to a head this year because of the forthcoming Zionist Congress. This is an event that takes place every four years. The participants are both Israelis and Diasporan Jews and the venue is in Israel. The dates have been changed to have the congress in 1978.
- There has been a heated argument over the number and type of delegates that we should be sending to this event, in which Pioneer Women have also taken a stand. The original plan was to send 9 delegates of which 6 would be from Poale Zion and one from each of the three Youth movements. However a vote of 'no confidence' was passed against that idea because we wanted more youth to be active. The reason for changing the leadership is because the present people who are running the party may have the influence in the Labour Party but they are not using that influence to any great effect.

- 6) This Moetza believes that in any peace agreement reached, Jerusalem must remain in Israeli hands.

Resolution passed.

Discussion

- Jerusalem is taken as both the 'old' and the 'new' united together.
- But if a peace agreement is arranged whereby there is a binational state, then surely Jerusalem will not be Israeli hands.
- That would only mean that Israel would not exist.
- There is a question of what this resolution really means. The resolution is asking that Jerusalem will remain as a holy place for all religions as it is now while it is under Israeli jurisdiction. We do not want to see the situation whereby Jews (or any other religions) shall be refused entry to their holy places. Jerusalem is the centre for all Jewish people and as such must remain as part of our country.

- .) This Moetza believes that there should be no further settlement at all on the West Bank and that it should be used merely as a strategic buffer zone until an everlasting peace settlement is reached under whose conditions it would be settled.

Resolution passed

Discussion

- The West Bank should be used as a buffering zone and kept as a negotiable item. As such I am against all settlement there even those that are there at present. Only the Army should be allowed to remain there until a peace settlement is decided upon.
- Some of the areas are vital for Israeli policies, thus there are settlements that began after 1967 on what was then empty ground.
- Why? Surely if the West Bank becomes a separate Palestinian state or is returned to the Arab States then those Jewish Settlements will become isolated from Israel.
- The resolution says 'no further settlement', surely by now there are all the settlements that are needed there already.
- No. There is enough room along the Jordan for at least 50 settlements, but at the moment there are only 5 settlements there.
- Then what the Israeli government is talking about is taking over certain occupied areas.
- No just settlement in strategic areas necessary for security.
- The idea of settlement for 'security reasons' is a falsehood. People that set up homes are settled, they are not going to want to move. It is a fallacy to expect civilian settlements to work as strategic buffer zones.

- 4) This Moetza condemns the Gush Emunim movement as contrary to the basic values of Judaism and Zionism and as a threat to Israeli democracy.

Amended to:

This Moetza condemns the Gush Emunim movement as a threat to Israeli democracy.

Discussion

- The Gush Emunim is a movement that started up after the '67 War. The group basically believed that that Israel should be restored back as it was in the Bible which includes all areas such as Hebron, Judah, Samaria and both sides of the Jordan. They believe that rights to a land are by settlement so they settle without permission.
- The Israeli government's stand is for settlement of lands in which no one is living in Judah and Samaria or lands where for security reasons it is advantageous to have that land in Israeli hands, i.e. near the Jordan River around Jerusalem, on the Golan Heights, from Gaza to El Arish, and from Eilat to Sharm a Sheik. These are the official government lands which are not negotiable.
- There is a belief that the historical rights to the land includes the lands decided by God. He designated an area for His people to settle.
- Perhaps we should amend the part relating to Judaism and Zionism because these people believe that Judaism is exactly what is written in the Bible, thus relates to the land of the Bible. This is Zionism based on pure religious beliefs.
- They have a right to fight for what they believe in, but the methods they are choosing are opening the way towards anarchism which is against the basic principles of Judaism.
- Then we must delete the section dealing with 'the basic values of Judaism and Zionism' and leave that our basic disagreement is that they are paving the way for anarchism.

- 3) This Moetza is accordance with the present Israeli government's policy of discouraging unofficial Jewish settlement in Occupied Territories as detrimental to the chances of everlasting peace in the Middle East. Furthermore we condemn those reactionary elements who illegally have settled or intend to settle on the West Bank.

Resolution passed.

Discussion

- The West Bank is at present occupied by the Army. There have been settlements formed illegally in this area. I would like to see all the illegally settlers actually thrown out of the area and the land left untouched so that it can be used as a means for aiding peace talks.
- There are some people who believe that the Land of Israel includes all the lands mentioned in the Bible, which in this context means both sides of the Jordan. These people are continually clashing with the Army, The government and the Palestinians. This resolution is in agreement with the present Israeli government's stand.
- The resolution is not clear because if it says that 'unofficial Jewish settlement is wrong wherever it is (even in the Negev) then its saying that only the Government can decide where settlement will be.
- Apparently in the West Bank there is also official Jewish settlement which confuses the argument that the West Bank should be left unsettled until a peace agreement is decided upon.
- The official settlement is in specified areas, unofficial settlement is only directed at making the West Bank part of Israel and is therefore detrimental to peace talks.

ARAB - ISRAEL CONFLICT

- 1) This Moetza calls upon the Palestinians and Israel to end their state of belligerency and to recognise each others rights to sovereignty and self-determination within their own states.

Amended to :

This Moetza calls upon the Palestinians and Israel to end their state of belligerency and to recognise each others rights to sovereignty and self-determination within separate states

Discussion

- The Arab States and Israel should end all attacks on each other and recognise each others rights as in the UN.
- The representatives for the Palestinians is the PLO. The PLO does not accept Israel as a country for the Jews. Israel accepts the Palestinian and respects their right to live in the Land of Jordan, which they see as the Palestinian state. The Palestinians want land which is at present Israel.
- Who are the Palestinians ? The PLO ? Does the PLO really represent the Palestinians ?
- Palestine before 1948 included part of what is now Israel. The PLO are saying that the state they want will include Israeli land e.g. Ramla, Lod
- The basic problem with negotiations is that the PLO have their idea of what is their land and Israel has no other view.
- This resolution does not mention the PLO. It is aimed at moderate Palestinians. The PLO do not and never will accept Israel's right to exist. The Palestinians are not a people as recognised by the Israeli government but they believe they are a people. Palestinian awareness has increased since 1967 due to economic factors, political factors and oppression in the Occupied Territories. The situation now has escalated into riots.
- If we are to be recognised as a people then we must morally accept others.
- Where is the Palestinian state ?
- Can we acknowledge the Palestinian rights if those rights mean to have a state in Israel?
- Israel as the country for the Jewish People now exists - there can be no argument against that.
- Then this resolution is only talking theoretically because we are not saying where the Palestinian land is.
- We need an amendment leaving out the last four words.
- The main point in this discussion is that there are no moderate Palestinians. If the Palestinians are asked where they want to live they will claim Israel.
- That is not true. The moderates will want to live in peace.
- The problem is that we as a Zionist youth movement cannot pass a resolution which although on the surface may seem sound, is meaningless in practice if the PLO want to destroy us.
- Let the Palestinians live in Jordan considering that most of the Jordanian government is Palestinian.
- But Jordan is not theirs! The whole point of the resolution is that it states that the Palestinians are a People.
- There should be an amendment to emphasise that Israel is already the Jewish State

ACTIVISM

- 1) This Moetza notes with pleasure the tremendous increase in action concerning the plight of Soviet Jewry. We resolve to continue the struggle wholeheartedly and by whatever methods are necessary, until our brothers in the USSR have secured their freedom. This Moetza wishes to extend a hearty 'Mazeltov' to the Sokiriansky family from Leningrad, on their receipt of exit visas and their subsequent aliya. We salute Abraham Sokiriansky, who had not seen his sons for over 30 years, in his long and heroic struggle for his family to be reunited with him in Israel. We convey our deepest feeling of solidarity to Alexander Silnitsky (our current adoptee) who is at present languishing in a Soviet Labour Camp because of his Zionist sympathies.

Resolution passed.

- 2) This Moetza notes with sadness that the struggle for the freedom of Arab Jewry has not been carried out with the same momentum as the struggle for Soviet Jewry. We reconfirm last year's decision to appoint an Arab Jewry Officer, who will coordinate activities in Dror on the Arab Jewry issue.

Resolution Passed.

- 3) This Moetza aware of the growing strength of extreme right-wing fascist organisations in this country, categorically refutes racialism in any form. As a socialist-Zionist organisation, we realise the potential threat to the Jewish Community from these organisations and therefore we appoint one person to be responsible for educating the movement chaverim on this subject i.e. collecting and producing propaganda and organising demonstrations.

Resolution passed.

- 4) This Moetza believes that Dror should be more involved in British Party Politics and urges the movement to help officially the Labour Party, in any future election campaigning.

Resolution Defeated.

Discussion

- We are a socialist-Zionist youth movement. As such we are agreed on our Zionist principles, but do not agree on a universal socialist stand.
- If we are to support a socialist party we must support one that is really active. The Labour Party does classify as such.
- The Labour Party is the only Zionist party.
- Elections are deceptions in that there is not three separate parties when you really analyse their policies. If the only reason to join a party is just to support it, but not be active then we can join the 'Friends of the Labour Party'. The leadership of the Labour Party is actually anti-Zionist.
- Extreme left-wing socialists are actively anti-Zionists.

- 4) This Moetza deplores the general trends away from the original ideals of kibbutz and in particular the role women play on today's kibbutz, i.e. fitting into the traditional stereotypes, working almost totally in service industries.

The previous question was moved.

Discussion.

- In the 1920's the work was evenly shared.
- The first kibbutzim worked on a totally equal basis. They brought their children up equally, but when the first baby was born problems began to emerge. The baby was termed as belonging to the community as a whole, thus it was communally looked after. These children were brought up to be liberated from the stereotype sex roles. However it transpired that the boys wanted to work on the land and the girls wanted to work in service industries.

The chevrei believed that they did not know enough about this time, nor why the women wanted to work in service industries.

this is a lie! (ed.)

- 3) This Moetza notes with sadness the increasingly introspective attitude of the kibbutzim and their unwillingness to involve themselves in Israeli society. We call for a new approach whereby the kibbutzim, together with 'outside' organisations included in the Histadut, will look for ways of furthering the cause of socialism in Israel. Furthermore we encourage the kibbutz movement to send people to work outside the kibbutz in political parties, civil service, development towns and so forth.

Amended to:

This Moetza notes with sadness the increasingly introspective attitude of the kibbutzim and their unwillingness to involve themselves in Israeli society. We call for a new approach whereby the kibbutzim and other 'outside' organisations included in the Histadut, will look for ways of furthering the cause of socialism in Israel. Furthermore we encourage the kibbutz movement and chevrei kibbutz to become more involved in political parties, civil service, development towns and so on.

Discussion.

- The Kibbutz can be regarded as a socialist oasis in a capitalist desert. The kibbutz movement is now so introverted that it does not see its task as bettering itself. The kibbutz is not an aim in itself, but is a means through which the kibbutz movement can spread socialism. Is al. Aliya does not stop when one has reached the kibbutz, rather aliya is a commitment to furthering the cause of socialism in Israel. We note with sadness that the kibbutz movement is not working in this direction, thus we urge the chevrei to 1) broaden their attitude 2) encourage individuals to work outside.
- There is a definite trend away from active politics by chevrei kibbutz.
- The word 'work' must be amended to mean working as volunteers i.e. working in the evenings (after a day's kibbutz work.).

ind
lity

- 4) This Moetza believes that the 'Law of Return' is exclusivist and that the government should devise a way to supplement it so that it would become for non-jews and those Jews not recognised by the Israeli religious authorities, to immigrate and settle in Israel.

The previous question was moved.

Discussion.

n
to
wing
sity
th

own
help
ire

- The 'Law of Return' states that Israel opens its arms to all Jews from anywhere in the world. For non-jews immigration is a harder process, firstly to get into the country and also they don't get the privileges given to Jews.
- If Israel allows all religions in equally then surely the concept of Israel as a homeland for the Jews will be lost.
- Referring to Justin and Jonathan (chevrei from Leicester whose father is Jewish but not the mother) what should the government do?
- The government should recognise reforms and converts, which is not the situation at present.
- This resolution is confusing issues. There is a need for the Israeli government to make a secular law outlining what is a Jew. The Law is exclusivist and we have a right to pass a Law like that, because Israel is the only place where Jews are part of the own nation. The problem is confused by the Diasporan Jews. In the Diaspora there are differentiations by Jews creating several groups of people who believe they are Jews but they don't come under the official Israeli definition. There is a definite need to change this definition.
- But the fact still remained that non-jews do not get the new immigrant rights and find it harder to become Israeli citizens.
- Also the Law does not recognise non-Jewish Zionists, even though there are Christian and a Japanese moshavim set up.
- But if many avid non-Jewish Zionists settled then Israel would cease to be a Jewish state.
- There are many definitions of a Jew:-
A Jew is someone who calls himself a Jew
A Jew is someone who is born a Jew
A Jew is someone who is circumcised.
- We in Dror are not so concerned about the Rabbinical definition of who is a Jew. Our own discussion is a bit dangerous. the word Jew can be extended, but no one can call himself a Jew just to go to Israel.
- I believe anyone who is a Zionist should be welcomed into Israel.
- Dror is not religious so policies based on rabbinical law cannot be made. Traditionally the Rabbis have the rights to delve into the subjects of religion and who is a Jew. As we are not qualified to talk at great length in this sphere we should move the previous question.

- 3) This Moetza notes with regret the worsening social situation in Israel, and encourages those elements in Israeli society which are actively working towards the negation of the sephardi - ashkenazi social gap and the equality of rights for Israeli Arabs.

Resolution passed.

Discussion.

- This resolution is concerned about the social gap in terms of materialism and the psychological barrier. The gap is between Russian Jews, who come to Israel and are given special privileges, and also oriental Jews with big families, little education and a different culture, and Western Jews. Sephardim are seen in Israel as a problem which can be shown in the following example:
55% of primary children are from sephardi families, whilst 1% of university student are sephardim. The problem is also seen in the Army.
Jews throughout the World are Jews and want to live equally in Israel with equal rights for all, but the people in Israel are moving closer towards a social gap. The situation is that the Sabras and the Ashkenzim are creating a second-class citizenship of Jews. Zionism as the National Liberation Movement of the Jewish People is not working as the ideal it originally set out to achieve.
- Are the communists helping?
- They think they are helping, but many of them are Arabs which poses its own problems. They want a binational state. The Labour party also want to help but they believe that Defence is of primary importance and therefore there is not enough money to set up the necessary institutions.

- 2) This Moetza urges the Israeli government and the people of Israel to take concrete steps to further public ownership and co-operative and the equal distribution of wealth and status with the aim of building an egalitarian society based on Jewish values and ethics.

Resolution passed.

Discussion

- This is pure socialist indoctrination!
- Dror is a socialist-zionist youth movement and is therefore dedicated to establishing socialist-zionist country. Israel should be encouraged to express socialism in other ways (apart from kibbutz).
- It is not possible for wealth to be evenly distributed, because some people are just more greedy than others. It was tried and failed in the USSR.
- This is the theory of socialism. There needs to be some positive way to put it into practice.
- Socialism is against human nature. If the government took over private ownership there would be no incentive for people to work, because no trade competition.
- Although the resolution sounds revolutionary, the most important part is that the society should be based on Jewish values and ethics. The situation today in Israel is one of a monopoly paradise with one firm producing one product. The resolution is not talking about radical socialism, just that the kibbutz way of life should be extended.
- The first chalutzim were not socialist they were only fired by an ideal of working on the land. Their idea of collective living extended to become the kibbutz.
If you look at people on collectives they are better off than the people in the towns economically, socially, educationally, opportunities, and in terms of status.
Tel-Aviv is a bit like Chicago in that it is being run by wealthy business men with an extreme conflict between the upper and lower classes. It is generally believed that in five years of peace Israel will turn itself upside-down. Kibbutz does work, okay its not national but the figures speak for themselves what is the best life for Israel.
- But there is a problem about collectives in a town.
- Some people can take kibbutz life, others can't. Does this mean they cannot go to Israel?
- Socialists can live in England so why can't a non-socialist live in Israel?
- There is no personal satisfaction working in a socialist society. The satisfaction is by working your way up and by gaining more money.
- This is not a part of human nature. It depends on conditioning at school and home.
- Kibbutzim are still basically agricultural. There is no successful kibbutz in a town.
- What about the lower classes. The sephardim won't accept being second-class citizens and Israel does not want an internal crisis.
- Everything will go 'down the Drain' because of nationalising and quick socialism. For socialism to occur, the educational system needs to be changed.
- Its more than that, one gets indoctrinated from the minute you're born.
- Private enterprise is inefficient, etc. Socialism is the best way of life for the Israelis therefore we must urge the government in anyway possible as our Dor policy.

- 1) This Moetza condemns the continuing decay in the moral fibre of Israeli society, especially with regard to the recent corruption exposures and the worsening social climate.

Resolution passed.

Discussion

- One hopes as a Zionist, that Israel will be a model of morality, etc.. Recently these ideals have been exposed as the same as other countries. For example, the uncovering of the corruption within the National Health Service. 'Worsening social climate' refers to the discrimination and the losing of the ideals of equality which we, as a socialist-Zionist movement are very disappointed about.
- But in the situation that Israel finds itself (threats of war, varied citizens etc) one cannot expect it to be perfect.
- Perhaps, as we can have only tiny or no real effect on this problem, we should move this resolution.
- No. It is important that we take a definite stand. For people going on aliya, they must feel they have the backing support of Dror - their movement. Technically must be about subjects that the movement feels strongly about.
- 'Condemn' is too strong a word.
- We passed a resolution giving us the right to criticise Israel.

- 1) This Moetza believes that the existing arrangement of having four separate, non-orthodox, chalutzic, Zionist youth movements (Habonim, Hanoar Hatzioni, Hashomer and Dror) is no longer relevant to the needs of Anglo-Jewish youth. Furthermore it is no longer the most efficient method of stimulating Zionist awareness and eventual aliya.
- As a consequence, this Moetza strongly supports those progressive elements in the four chalutzic, non-orthodox, Zionist youth movements who wish to see the gradual unification of the movements provided that there are reappraisals at every stage. Moreover this Moetza instructs the Bogrei Machon and Shlichim to advise Kibbutz Hame'uchad of our recommendation.
- Doubting that Kibbutz Hame'uchad will agree to such a recommendation, this Moetza further instructs the Bogrei Dror and Shlichim to initiate discussions with all those chaverim in other movements who support unification so that a 'fait accompli' can be achieved as soon as possible.

Resolution passed.

Discussion

- This motion envisages having one youth movement instead of four. The advantages of this are:-
 - a) Pooled resources, which is economically favourable.
 - b) A united front for Labour-Zionism.
 - c) The potential to attract more members of the community.
 - As Dror is affiliated to Kibbutz Hame'uchad, all our money and shlichim come from Kibbutz Hame'uchad. This means that we can only request amalgamation. True amalgamation can only come when Kibbutz Hame'uchad becomes amalgamated. This has already started to some extent. There have been some discussions with Ichud. Ichud does not want its youth movements to amalgamate until the affiliated Kibbutz movements in Israel have amalgamated.
 - There is a point that competition is good between the different movements.
 - The situation now is that there is alternative movements to go to if you don't fit in with one.
 - Competition is positive. The situation is seen where there would be snifim scattered around the UK each with their own characteristics. Thus the competition would be inter-snifim.
 - The difference between the movements nowadays is really just one of wearing different shirts.
 - Possibly there is a need to have committees co-ordinating activities, while still retaining the four youth movements.
 - The real motive is to attract more youth, but now the whole issue has been tainted by petty politics. The idea is not to centralize but to reach further abroad. As an example - Leeds:-
- When Dror was in Leeds, Dror had 30 or so members and Habonim had 100+. The Habonim bogrim were inspired and spurred on by the competition between the snifim. When Dror started to decline, Habonim also declined. If there had been co-operation, ten extra Madrichim could have been given to Dror to boost the movements, keeping a healthy competition.
- There is a problem in that we can't just go against Kibbutz Hame'uchad. The problems of this motion and its reality must be understood.
- The economic situation cannot be dismissed so lightly. There is a vast amount of money going into the movements, but very little coming out in terms of aliya rate. There may become a situation whereby Israel may decide that it can't afford maintaining four separate youth movements and therefore may push for Ichud, unless the situation is resolved where the funds merit the results.
 - Taking into account that we have passed a resolution that we should be autonomous and that we're talking about Zionism (with aliya as the highest realisation) the main criteria when discussing Ichud cannot be financial.

ICHUD HATNU'OT (DISCUSSION CONTINUED.)

- Therefore does ichud mean being called one big movement but basically remaining the same?
- No. The idea in North London, for example, is to close down Habonim and leave Dror bayit as the movement bayit.
- It seems likely that there will be a higher 'drop-out' rate from this big movement.
- + There may also be a loss of identification with the real essential meaning of the movements.
- The main disadvantage of having small movements is that the people become too self-satisfied. The sense of intimacy between the cliques detracts from overall chevra.
- It is more important to be part of a big national movement with which you can identify and feel part of something more important.
- The situation at the start of this year was bad but things have started to look up. Ichud must not be the closing down of anything that's existing, but the opening of more snifim to reach more youth. There is manpower at colleges where there is no youth movements.
- What will happen on a world-wide scale?
- In the different countries different movements are strong. The only place where amalgamation was tried was Canada, where it failed.
- This is an Anglo-jewry problem.
- + There will be initial problem in terms of those people who are already in youth movements.
- There is a possibility for garinim to have more choice and also for inter-snif garinim.
- There is a possibility that Habonim will just 'take over'.
- Although reality is to be taken into consideration, this resolution must be decided on theoretically.
- If this resolution is not passed in theory there will never be the reality of ichud. The resolution itself is not talking about doing anything, just giving permission for us to start discussing with other movements.

ZIONISM

- 1) This Moetza reaffirms the right of the Jewish people to a homeland in Eretz Yisrael.

Resolution passed.

Discussion

- If there was no Israel there would be nowhere else for Jewish people to go to and the Jewish race would die out.

- 2) This Moetza condemns the anti-zionist campaign in the UN and other international bodies as contrary to fundamental human rights and reaffirms Zionism as the National Liberation Movement of the Jewish People.

Resolution passed.

by dave
allard

Dear Chaverim,

Mo asked we a couple of weeks ago (actually a couple of months now Ed's note) to write some type of article for you entitled, more or less: "WHITHER ISRAEL?". Far more powerful people than I are occupied with this problem and the paths of peace. I can only offer a few thoughts. The first few are offered fairly definitely as cues for the movement's future. The latter are connected to the political scene and may well be rapidly outdated by events. I hope that all in all they are of some use.

PART ONE

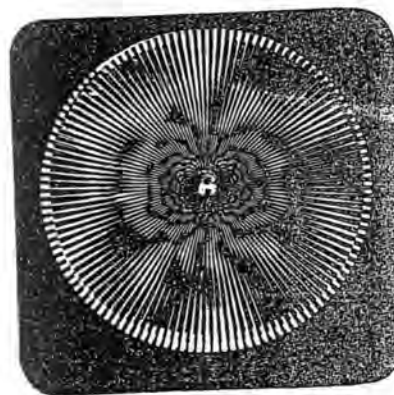
I. The return to apathy. This seems to be a world wide phenomenon amongst Jews and is sad but predictable. "WE" here are out of the headlines, although every week Israeli soldiers are being killed or wounded on the different fronts, under cease fire conditions. The situation is hardly less urgent; generally reservist's duty is being extended to March and beyond. Peace negotiations, assuming they get going again will be tough and immediate returns are unlikely, in view of the hardening of attitudes. A return to apathy of Jews, and especially of YOU in the movement, is the last thing we need in the circumstances. Do whatever you think can help as far as extra-ordinary action is concerned..... demonstrate, agitate: against British Policy, to awaken somnolent youth and adults,.... and to keep the movement running. Now more than ever we need you, and many others like you, to help us support the struggle for a peaceful, Socialist State. At the moment the main struggle is for peace, but don't be deceived and think that socialism is irrelevant.

We fight to survive, but also to maintain values essential to this country of ours. To watch the manoeuvres and heartless exploitation of bereaved families by the Likud before the elections is to understand that we must fight on too, and not let the professional patriots and war lovers win out. Try and understand that just because full scale battles are not being fought does not mean that the war is over.....far from it..... unfortunately!!

POLITICAL ACTIVISM. I would like to expand a previous point, that I feel is a key. Very possibly many chaverim feel lost and unsure of what to do in the light of the sudden quiet; the movement routine is no longer sufficient. Needless to say it isn't. Lots of work is still needed; the movement educational process and eventual aliyah to kibbutz are more vital than ever, a garin is the real answer if you can finally get the idea off the ground. If you still feel that there is more to do for Israel than just hadracha then the movement has a traditional role which you can carry out as long as you are still in England. Analyse the present situation with the chanichim, discuss it, review how you once viewed all the issues, develop the awareness of the younger chaverim - act on your beliefs while still in Golah. Aliyah to kibbutz is one expression of belief. A fusion of political beliefs, political declaration, and personal commitment. Meanwhile there is plenty to do and no need to let HERUT lead the initiative and snatch the glory.



There is an anti-Israel Tory Foreign minister to demonstrate against, and his whole policy. There is a young left wing public to talk to about Arab oil colonialism. There are pamphlets to produce, speeches to be made and heckling to be done..... don't be ashamed...that's not what being a FREE JEW is about. If your parents fight you then fight back, there is a recent war to point out as yet another reminder of the need for every one concerned to fight for Israel. Let each fight in his own way...but DO IT....don't just sit and moan.



3. BUSINESS AS USUAL The role of the movement is still to expand and to consolidate itself. The reasons should be obvious enough. If this does not seem enough then maybe some of the above suggestions hold, or maybe you can add more. If it seems trivial, then the lives lost, the boys crippled and maimed and the nationwide grief is all trivial too, being equally a part of the same process of fulfillment and existence. If this IS the way you feel (and I've heard that some do) then you are naive and immature.....grow up or get out.

But most of you, I know, are desperately worried and searching for a solution. Until you get here and join us I have a feeling that this spiritual malaise will stay with you. In any case keep trying, as we once did; and we wait for you all hopefully and patiently, with you in our hearts and minds.

PART TWO

1. THE INTERNAL SITUATION: Several mistakes were made in the course of the war...lack of preparedness, underestimation of the enemy are the two main failings. As in all such situations a search for the scapegoat satisfies two main needs; the public demand (at present muted as most people have other things on their minds) for responsibility to be discovered, and this demand being used for ending party political disputes by the use of the same scapegoat. Ha'Kibbutz Ha'Meuchad called unsuccessfully for a delay of the elections - in itself a worthwhile move but with little real significance, in my opinion.

There have also been calls for Moshe Dayan's resignation. These I wholeheartedly support personally, reflecting previous beliefs that his "pragmatism" was in reality opportunism. Present statements of his show that little has changed. In any case the labour party is going through a tremendous upheaval right now. As both Eban and Hertzog pointed out, perceptively, things are not likely ever to be the same here; in conceptual terms, the doves grow less dovish and the hawks less hawkish. Most vital of all is the committee investigating what really happened in the war. Its findings will shake a lot of ideas held by the public, some that have taken a shaking already. One myth that looks like dying for sure is that the Israeli army is somehow more democratic, more wisely run and more seeing than equivalent armies. "Normalisation" and the great admiration in which the army has been held in recent years, means that it is an important repository of prestige and endowment of status to its high-flying generals...in other words normalisation means the tainting of idealism.

2. THE POWER GAME. The previous analysis and speculation is weakened by the complications introduced, variously by the 'oil game' and its tremendously far reaching effects in France, England, Japan and the U.S.A. etc; by the local interests of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. and by everyone's desire to be "in" on Geneva. The threat here is manifold. In the short term the Conference could be as farcical as the Vietnam peace talks, with their endless discussions on the shape of the table (we at least passed over that one with ease thanks to the absence of Syria) or the twenty year slanging match on the 38th parallel in Korea. In essence we must ask the question: "In whose genuine interests is it to find a just solution in the Middle East?" Ours?...Certainly. The Arabs... not judging by the decisions of the Algiers Summit and their opening statements at Geneva. The issue then begins to turn on how much pressure the States and the Soviets will bring to bear, and this pressure, like the pound, seems to fluctuate. I am of the pessimistic opinion that the Russians understand as little of the Arab mentality as the Americans do of ours. Only direct negotiations will produce a genuinely acceptable situation to all parties concerned (as Golda is so fond of repeating). But in the circumstances of power - brokerage and oil blackmail such talks seem out of the question. But we can be thankful that those countries still reveling in their past glories are 'out' and not 'in' the Palace of Nations.

PART THREE

Since I started writing this article, David Ben-Gurion has died. I doubt that more blatant symbolism could not exist at this point of time. With his death, and the war, an era seems to be dying too, and it is increasingly tempting to look upon the War of Independence, the Aliyah, Tower-and-Stockade and so on as an historical episode that is now closed. In essence, this is true, but to react in despair, as many people here have done, is to misunderstand the situation. Most people were under the illusion that the territories conquered in 1967 provided some solution of a lasting nature. It depended on your politics. For some, it was the acquisition of the true land of Israel; for others, a source of manpower and land for us to grow rich upon; for nearly all, secure borders.

All this is up in the air now, and a certain vagueness surrounds all political debate from the lowest to the highest levels. For this reason the future seems vague. In fact, it is always vague, but concise political debate seems to sharpen it. The main concern here is that the war will continue. In other words, we are still concerned here with issues of "life-and-death", and other interests are laid aside. This is a weird contrast, since, for civilians at least, the war is over, and we have slipped imperceptibly back to "normal". I presume that the same must hold for you all, only more so. All I can recommend is the same as I do for myself - patience. In visible terms, too, the situation is funny. The roads around the meshke are still very busy with Army traffic, while Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem seem relatively empty. We still jump at every sonic boom but suddenly everyone is taking "chufshot" (I am writing this during a short chofesh), and making tentative plans for each personal future, something that was unthinkable a month ago. We passed from peace to war to this state of flux. This is neither a very glamorous nor a very pleasant period to pass through, and yet "all things must pass". We look forward to seeing you all soon, and hearing from you in the meantime.

Love from

3. The issue of territories remains as pressing as ever, if not more so. It is probably to Israel's advantage that each subject will be discussed "separately" and "in order" in Switzerland. In reality the territory problem can hardly be separated from the connected issues of refugees and the Palestinian entity. In the light of previous Arab statements over the last 25 years it is our great fortune that things are being treated individually. The intransigence of both sides may thus be short-circuited. Eventually, it would seem clear that, if all goes well, the doveish view in Israel will be fulfilled in terms of negotiated settlement upon returned territories in a quid pro quo of recognition, demilitarisation and so on. What we must beware of is the price of failure at the talks. It is war again, sooner or later. A variety of circumstances may conspire to cause this - hardening of any of the parties' attitudes eventually certainly will. Our chief concern within Israel is the rise of Likud at the elections - any fairly typical right wing make-up - if in power - or influential, will certainly be a potential force for the break up of the talks. As the Maarach and Moked pointed out the Likud slogan "NOT ONE INCH" is hardly compatible with a negotiated settlement, especially as any illusions of Israel as the local super power are now dispelled. In brief then, one can expect, optimistically, potential settlements with Jordan and Egypt by the spring, but with Syria - nothing until the P.O.W. question is resolved, at least as an opener.

kibbutz

BEFORE OUR ARRIVAL

The machon had ended and nine people full to the brim with ideas about the Jewish future, Israel as an answer to the Jewish problem, the situation of the Jew in the modern world etc. made their way from Jerusalem to Kibbutz Machanayim for the second part of the machon programme. We felt ourselves to be a small but strong group, hoping and willing to learn as much as possible from the kibbutz. We had a great advantage as we had all been on Machanayim previously either on a weekend visit or as part of the summer scheme.

Kibbutz was not new for us as we had all received a fair amount of education prior to our arrival. I think we looked forward to the next few months on kibbutz for several reasons. First we all felt (particularly) those of us from Dror that the time had arrived to say "I am in the movement" or "I am out". Also we wanted to spend time with friends on the meshek. Chevrei Tnuah who had either settled or were in the process of absorption. Lastly I think we all wanted to get away from the intellectual intensity of the machon.

Towards the end we had been brought to a point of considerable ideological confusion and we felt that it would be good for us to live on the ground for a while and get things into perspective. On a basic level I think we were fed up with the routine of Jerusalem.



WORK

"If you can't get on with work then you can forget about kibbutz". All of us realised the truth of this statement and tried very hard to overcome the initial problems of physical work. By and large we adapted well and after a while we got to the point where we could derive a great deal of satisfaction from what we were doing.

For Western kids (even from the movement) the process of ridding ourselves of the Capitalist conception of work and from there appreciating the kibbutz attitude was very difficult.

One of the greatest things we achieved was the sense of identification in our branches. It became natural in the evenings to sit down and discuss the problems of the day, and this became part of everyday life.

Of course we had all the normal problems of rising, but we got over that one too.

OUR SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP

During the period of our stay our relationship with the kibbutz members developed considerably. In the beginning we felt that we were being regarded as "long hairs" from abroad. However, as anyone who is familiar with kibbutz knows, one is judged by ones' "Yachas L'Avodah". Since we were all keen and willing to do our share our image improved. Most of us had kibbutz families that we visited regularly. This helped us considerably in terms of our appreciation of kibbutz life.

The fact that we knew some of the English and American settlers from Dror gave us a way into the social life of Machanayim.

By the end of our stay several strong bonds of friendship had been struck up with chaverim of all ages and vetek.





Through the four months that we stayed on Machanayim a programme was organised by Gabi, Dave, and Mo. This included sichot, tiyulim, Kabbalat Shabat and general social activities. Chevrei Meshek came to discuss subjects with us too. These were sometimes handicapped by the language barrier, but generally speaking we learnt a lot from these conversations.

Toward the second half of the stay we organised a hadracha programme to help us in our work when we returned home.

We had lengthy discussions between ourselves about the coming years and the future of the movement. We made plans and devised to attract new chaverim and to expand the movement. We concentrated a lot on the idea of a new sniff.



I think all of us had mixed feelings about returning to "Chutz L'Aretz". On one hand we would have liked to have stayed longer and become part of the meshek, but on the other we realised the importance of going back to our various towns to work.

Our overriding feeling however was one of "Well now we've got to start making a decision about us, our future and kibbutz". To come back to the norms of the movement without clear ideas about our respective futures is a pretty bad situation. Nonetheless we all felt that the next few years would give us the opportunity to put the year and all that had happened into perspective.

After the intensive experience of the machon, the intimacy of kibbutz and the upheaval of leaving new and old friends behind I am sure that despite the long road ahead we'll all be back. MARK - LONDON

MACHON 72-73



People tend to go on machon with preconceived ideas of what is going on and equipped with a mental picture of the surrounds. However, the chevrei who attended the last machzor were in a slightly different situation as they were the first to use the new campus in Kiriyat Moriah. This may seem a small point, but the newness and vastness were in fact drawbacks not advantages. This is true as it immediately destroyed our mental image of the place and because everything was sterile enough to conjure up images of a nursing home. The biggest problem was that the building is shared with machon l'shlichim and various other seminars and projects which prevented it from acquiring the aura of home.

The programme was constructed in a highly intensive manner, but enough free time was allowed to stop any nervous breakdowns occurring. The day began at 7.30 and between then and Ivrit which started at 8, time had to be found for breakfast. Ivrit lessons lasted two hours and was followed by a half hour break with coffee and tea.

After the break was a varied timetable including history, geography, Judaism, Israeli Society, and Hadracha. All this lasted until lunch at 12.30. After lunch there were chuggim, of which five had to be done (two practical and three theoretical or vice - versa) from a list of 28 or so. This programme was effective for six days a week, the seventh was shabat. Shabat - no lessons, no need to hurry, a day of sanity amongst intensive insanity of the rest of the week. On shabat some went off to play rugger at the Hebrew University, some made candles, while others just lay around and discussed various lectures, gossiped or played shesh - besh. Thus week followed week and month followed month and slowly everyone began to change.

To this machon went seven Drornicks, five from London, one from New York, and one from Toronto. These seven quickly formed a tight friendship and it was around them and the Young Judean contingent from Canada that the social life of the machon revolved. From this core originated all the kuntzim and pillow fights and

all the other crazy things that people did during the machzor. The raids on the kitchen, often blamed on Hashomer, and locking everyone in their rooms were just two of the zany ideas that originated from our group.

The change that came about was at the same time as small as an ant and as large as the molehill one usually makes of it. One and all became more self confident, in themselves and in their views, and at the same time became more tolerant of the views of others. This can be exemplified by stating something that happened to the London Drornickim.



To a London Drornick religion is a dirty word. The movement chevrei from London went with this attitude firmly entrenched in mind. As time progressed they engaged in deep conversations with the religious chaverim they were with. As a result they have returned to London still irreligious but with the realization that Judaism must be dealt with at Dror. Even if it is only to give the chevrei the arguments that can be used when confronted by the rel-



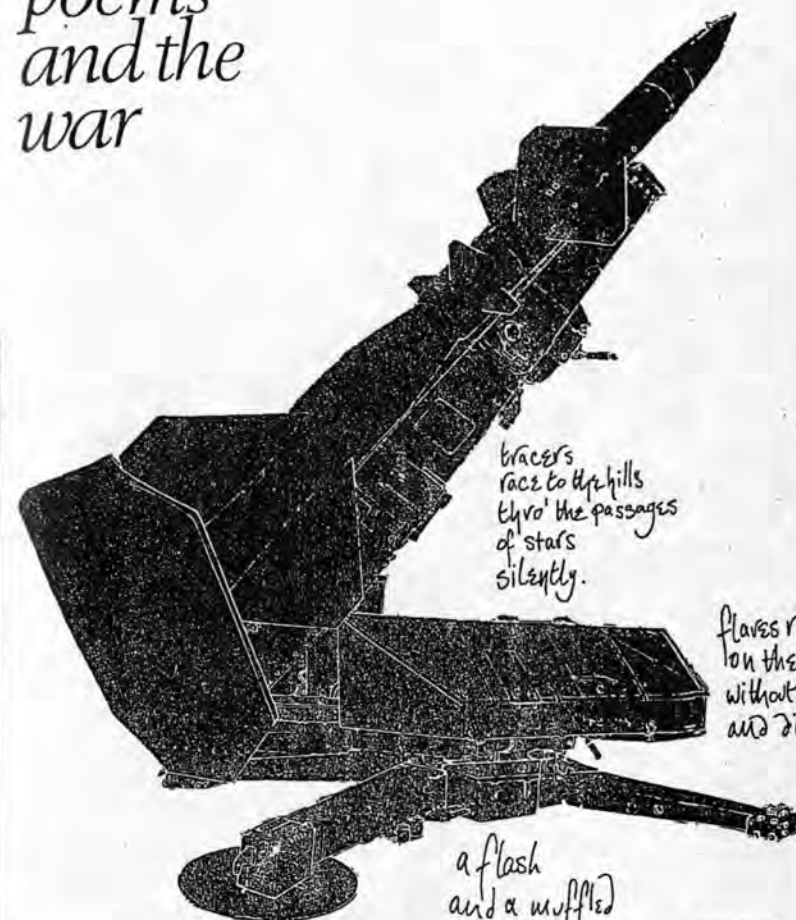
igious Jew. Or in other words, one of the results of the machon and its process of education is that graduates are now able to understand how other groups arrive at their conclusions. It does not mean that we agree with all their conclusions but they can at least be understood.

Does this mean that lecture are biased. The answer is no. The lessons are as objective as possible, and the exchange of opinions takes place usually after class or sometimes in lesson time. One well remembered lesson was a debate on universalism versus particularism. It was a moving debate and a discussion that would not end. For two weeks after people would continue to bring up new points to try and prove their case. In fact it never ended, for even on the return to the sium people were still searching for a satisfactory answer.

And so our half year passed. In thought and discussion, interspersed by games outings and tiyulim. Everything at the highest level possible. The contact with the other movements made us aware of our own failings and proud of our achievements.

COLIN - LONDON

poems and the war



bracers
race to the hills
thru' the passages
of stars
silently.

flares rise
on the horizon
without sound
and disappear.

a flash
and a muffled
boom
are all that remain.

SAM-8 missile.

Mo

I am a merchant of purpose,
my friends,
a dealer in absolutes.
I've got crucifixes and hemlock ropes
sold by the dozen and
only in pairs.

I can show you a selection of religious wars
or, if you prefer, you may browse through
an entire stock of scriptures.

You would like to purchase love, Sir?
And you madam . . . can I interest you in some maternal devotion?
I see, you're with the gentleman.

Love . . . well,

Yes, of course, I sell love.
but . . .

No, the price is fairly reasonable,
yet . . .

No, no. Nothing is wrong,
it's just that there's no guarantee on love.

That's right,
no guarantee.

Undecided?
Certainly.

I understand.

Would you like to see my variety
of wars, perhaps?

© SARAH NEWSBARGER



THE NEW REALITY

Many aspects of day to day life, the spirit of Israel and the prevailing atmosphere, both political, social and economic, spring immediately to mind when writing an article of this sort. My intention is to cover only a few of these aspects, as to do more than that would involve full scale research into the Israel of Nov' 1973 to February 1974.

No more the tax fire benefits and the villas in north Tel Aviv, but the spirit of pioneering and of challenge, the attitude of give and not take, the desire to change and to improve, to build and not to give in at the first obstacle. The words "WE NEED YOU" that are heard so often today throughout the country are not just a propaganda statement, they are a desperate plea to all those ready to listen and to believe.

To my mind the situation in which Israel finds herself today demands one result—immediate aliyah in large numbers, huge numbers and of the calibre of the chutzim of the 10's 20's and 30's.

This question of Aliyah is basic to all the other factors making up the reality of Israel today, and in the last 3 or 4 months. If we take the next issue, in rough order of importance is "MILU'IM" (reserve duty). Over 80% of the male population of the country has been called up at some or other since the war.

"
1),

j-
t
igs
J
in-

Over 50% is still in, and is likely to be so at least till April if not longer. So where does Aliyah tie in? If the fighting force in Israel was not, as it is, 10's of thousands but hundreds of thousands milu'im would be shorter, more evenly distributed, and fairer to all concerned. This in turn would have a direct influence on the next aspect of the new reality --- the economic situation.



The moment such a large percentage of the male populations mobilised to the army it means automatically, that the size of the Labour force is drastically affected. Production goes down, services are lacking but the demand remains constant (more or less). The result a spiralling inflationary situation - exactly what is happening. This complicated by oil problem and international diplomatic situation makes the situation even more

grave. If, however, the percentage of mobilised males was lower, more people were involved in the regular working of the country this situation would, to a large extent be avoided; at worst it would be far easier to keep in hand.

As a last word I would like to mention a somewhat secondary problem but one which concerns us a socialist youth and that is the student problem. With one third of students still in the army there are moves to start a second opening term in spring. Until this was finally decided it took a great struggle on the part of the Union of Israeli Students. They managed however not only to push through this demand, but also others about grants loans and lectures sent direct to soldiers at the front.

The strikes and demonstrations which are just starting again are probably the first manifestations of a growing discontent on the part of the workers and the poor. I'm not saying Aliyah will solve everything, but the more young idealist socialists there are here, the more efficient our fight to make this little state into a socialist example the way it was meant to be.